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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIETY AND CULTURE

OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, 1966

by

Douglas Lawrence Petherbridge

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT SECONDARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DATE MAY, 1967



UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled A Description of the Society and Culture of the Province of Quebec, 1966 submitted by Douglas Lawrence Petherbridge in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the support of the members of my committee, Professor M. Monod, Dr. E. J. H. Greene, Professor R. Motut, and Dr. B. E. Walker. Dr. E. W. Buxton, Chairman, has given continuous sympathetic encouragement and assistance which have done much to bring this study to a conclusion.

Throughout three summers I talked to many Quebecois whose kindness in giving their time and their assistance contributed greatly to making my visits to Quebec both enjoyable and informative. A grant obtained from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Province of Quebec is appreciated, not only because of the financial assistance it gave, but also because of the interest it revealed in the purpose of the study.

Finally, I acknowledge the support of my wife, whose assistance and encouragement have been invaluable.





## ABSTRACT

A description of the society and culture of the province of Quebec is presented in the following general divisions: economy, people, politics, church, trade unions, education and cultural affairs. For each subject a brief historical review is included to provide background for the description of the current situation.

Three visits of six weeks to three months provided opportunity for observation of life in the province and consultation with people in a variety of social and economic groups. In addition, reference was made to published works, particularly of historians and sociologists, as well as to current periodicals and newspapers. An attempt was made to restrict materials to those published since 1960.

Quebec's economy has passed through the stages of dependence first on agriculture, then on forest industries, to the present emphasis on manufacturing and tertiary industries. Distinguishing features of the economy are the late development of industry and the dependence on hydro-electricity as the only source of power available for industrial development. Of recent date is the determination of the people of Quebec to contribute to and enjoy the development of the Province's potential, not only in the economy, but in all aspects of society and culture.

Changes in family values, the questioning of the traditional "good" of the rural life in a society which is now predominantly urban, the appearance of social strata based on material success rather than on adherence to the Church, and a spirit of self-assertion in a group until



recently accepting the role of a conquered people are among changes which have brought the people of Quebec to a state of "social nervousness". The social and cultural uncertainty is perhaps similar to that of other people in rapidly developing areas of North America.

A mistrust of the system of democracy based on experience in the early years of English control, and the consequent use of politics to achieve purely local objectives brought about such abuses as patronage and dishonest election practices. In the contemporary period, though the dominating influence in politics continues to be survival as a group -- that is, Quebec nationalism, a genuine belief in democracy appears to have developed. The widely discussed "separatism", an extreme form of Quebec nationalism, can be avoided if other Canadians are prepared to provide a greater autonomy for the Province of Quebec within the federal system, and a greater recognition of French-Canadians outside the province in such matters as education in French, and the use of French in federal institutions throughout the country.

Adherence to the Roman Catholic faith is still typical. Yet, from the quasi-theocratic society which lasted from the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth, has developed a society in which individuals and institutions recognize an increasing separation of the spiritual from the secular. The deconfessionalized trade unions and the increasing support and control of education by the state are particular examples of the development. The Church continues to exert a strong influence on society, but





its influence depends more on its ability to offer effective leadership than on its traditional authority.

Conflict between the former Catholic trade unions and the other national and international trade unions represents another area of uncertainty for the worker, who, in spite of his need to participate in the organizations of the North American society in which he exists, still feels an allegiance to the "nationalism" of which the Quebec union movement is an expression.

Increasing state support of education, centralization of small school districts, emphasis on wider programmes of secondary education instead of the purely academic, and concentration of teacher training under the auspices of the universities are developments which may result in Quebec's education structures becoming similar to those of other systems in North America. Because such changes are occurring later than in other systems, Quebec can benefit from the experience of others without being tied to their example. The province may thus become a leader in education as it develops new organizations, such as the Institutes, and new ideas, such as the emphasis on participation of the public in planning educational change.

Cultural affairs are marked by an intense activity which has occurred since about 1940, and continues at an increased pace in the contemporary period. Government support, through subsidies to artists, musicians and writers, is an important influence in the expansion. Such



support is perhaps the expression of the wish of a people whose interest in the humanities and the arts is a tradition accepted in the province and known throughout Canada. Many French-Canadian painters, sculptors, musicians and authors have been and are now recognized internationally. Institutions such as the Ecoles des Beaux-Arts, the Quebec Music Conservatory and Jeunesse Musicale offer leadership to the rest of Canada. At the same time the traditional arts and crafts are maintained, woodcarving and printmaking being perhaps the best known.

Participation in the economic life of North America and its ways of living and recreational activities, changes occurring in education and religion, increased urbanization, and change itself tend to make Quebec similar to other provinces and states of North America. However, the variety of educational institutions, the "national" trade union movement, the desire to catch up and surpass the rest of North America, along with the more obvious differences of language and religion are among aspects of life which distinguish Quebec culture from that of the rest of the continent.





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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The French Canadians must be understood as they are now, and not as too many people used to think they were.<sup>1</sup>

Need for the Study. The study of French has long been accepted as part of the public school programme, not only in Alberta, but throughout Canada. The writer has been unable to find any statement as to why French, in particular, was chosen. Perhaps it can be assumed, therefore, that there has merely been acceptance of a long-standing British practice, rather than a conscious choice by the public or by educators. That there are two major language groups in Canada does not seem to have influenced the selection. As a result, French courses in schools have continued to use textbooks which, no matter where they originated, have treated cultural matters in terms of the culture of France only. Occasionally there is to be found a Montreal cousin who visits a cousin in Paris, or a comparison of a French school time table with that of a Canadian school,<sup>2</sup> but in the teaching of the French language, there appears no real recognition that a French culture exists in Canada.

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<sup>1</sup>Jean Lesage, Speech at Charlottetown. Feb. 2, 1963, Quebec States Her Case, Francis R. Scott and Michael Oliver, (editors), (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1964), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Leila Tomlinson, Nos Voisins Français, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 41.



In recent years a change of emphasis in the objectives of second-language teaching is evident. From a problem-solving activity in which rules were learned and applied, teachers are turning to training their students in aural-oral skills first. Such skills are needed, it is argued, in order to use language in a life-like situation, in spoken language, itself a basis for the later acquisition of writing and reading skills.

Brooks declares language to be the "most central element in any culture", and the "cultural pattern most strictly adhered to".<sup>3</sup> In accepting Brooks' viewpoint, one is led to accept also the following opinion.

As language teachers, we must be interested in the study of culture (in the social scientist's sense of the word) not because we necessarily WANT to teach the culture of the other country but because we HAVE to teach it.<sup>4</sup> (*Italics in original.*)

Lack of mastery of the sound system or grammatical structure by a speaker distinguishes him immediately as being "foreign". The distinction is frequently applied even to native born citizens who have retained in their speech characteristics from the original language of their family. An obvious example is the "th" sound in English, which presents a problem for speakers of many other languages. More difficult

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<sup>3</sup>Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning, (second edition; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 85, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Politzer, "Report of the Fifth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching" Georgetown University, pp. 100-101, in Brooks, op. cit. p. 88.





for the learner is the recognition of translations of ideas or grammatical structures into the target language. Although these expressions use only the words of the second language, they still strike the native speaker as having a peculiar sound to them.

An example said to be common in the Maritime provinces among certain French speakers is the direct translation of an English form using a preposition; for example, "The tools that I work with..." The acceptable form in French, as in formal English, is "The tools with which I work..." It is argued that the "mistake" is made because, through frequent contact with English, the French speaker has come to use English thought patterns in his own tongue.

If such mixtures are to be avoided, the learner of a second language needs to be able to enter freely into the thought patterns of that language. He must, as it were, change his personality and become, in part at least, French.<sup>5</sup> He can do this only if he knows the culture and can, in fact, change from one culture to another. A theme discussed in a later chapter of this study is the French-Canadian experience with and attitude towards democracy and confederation. French-Canadian usage of the words "democracy" and "confederation" shows that though the words are very similar in English and French, the concepts represented by them are very different.

In Canada therefore, it seems desirable to teach not only the

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<sup>5</sup>P. Guberina and P. Rivenc, Voix et Images de France, (Paris: Didier, 1962), p. IX.



culture of "the other country", France, but also that of French-Canada, since it is in this context that students are most likely to meet people from a second culture, or participate themselves in that culture. For Alberta students, the possibility exists of meeting representatives of a French culture among the 43,000 Albertans who hold French as their mother tongue.<sup>6</sup> A possible topic for further research is the extent to which Franco-Albertans are representative of the culture of Quebec, since, in the main, their cultural origin derives from that province.

This examination of Quebec may help to show whether there is in fact a French-Canadian culture, which is distinct from that of France, and distinct also from that of non-French Canada. It is important also to try to discover in what aspects the French-Canadian culture, if it exists as a separate culture, is similar to that of non-French Canada.

Many Canadians are seriously concerned by recent demands in Quebec for greater, even complete, provincial autonomy. This study will attempt to describe the nature of these demands, and give some background to the reasons for the demands. An interesting aspect of this study will be that of determining whether these demands are recent, or whether there is merely a recent extra emphasis on the need to remedy long standing dissatisfactions. It will be useful, also, to try to establish what relationships exist between the demands of Quebec and those of other provinces.

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<sup>6</sup>Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1, part 3, p. 121-23.





Even casual reading and conversation reveal the necessity of dispelling certain stereotyped ideas commonly held about the province of Quebec, or of putting them into a framework in which their significance can be seen in proper perspective.

Purposes of the Study. The study is intended to provide teachers with a description of Quebec which they will find useful. They may be teachers of French, discussing the culture of which the language they are teaching is a part. They may be social studies teachers concerned with current Canadian events. If this purpose is fulfilled, there may be graduated from our schools young people whose knowledge of Quebec should cause them to develop an understanding of the people and culture of that province.

The degree of similarity and difference between this culture, once identified, and that of France and non-French Canada will be left to the reader to decide from his own knowledge, for this is not intended as a comparative study. Rather, it is designed to provide a description of modern Quebec with which the reader can make comparisons himself.

The study is expected to provide for the general reader information which will enable him to understand the present demands of the people of Quebec, and to relate these to the present demands of other parts of Canada.

Finally, it is expected that this description of Quebec by someone who is neither a native nor an inhabitant of the province will provide a basis of comparison for some common beliefs about the nature



of Quebec, drawn from such sources as Hémon's Maria Chapdelaine.

Limitations. In order to fulfil the purposes of the study, it is necessary to include as many aspects as possible of the culture of Quebec. It is vital also that such aspects as are included be given as current a treatment as possible.

Although it is obvious that no treatment can be complete without a historical background, this aspect of the study will be treated as briefly as is compatible with understanding. The emphasis is to be on a description of the society and culture of Quebec as it appears from observation and from reading recent publications, particularly those appearing since 1960.

This date is selected because one hears throughout Quebec the statement that everything has changed since 1960. The change of government in that year, from Union Nationale to Liberal and more particularly, the change of Premier, from Maurice Duplessis' successor to Jean Lesage, seems to mark a turning point in the development of the province. That forces were already at work preparing for the change can readily be seen by the references made in recent publications to those of previous years. Hence, although the arbitrary date of 1960 has been selected, there cannot be an artificial division at this point. Much material of prior years has influenced the production of subsequent work, and that influence has affected the present study.

One author whose publications were prior to the selected date, 1960, must be mentioned. The work of Mason Wade, whose book The French





Canadians, (1956) is generally recognized as the most complete and authoritative modern history of Quebec, was found to be mentioned so frequently in other sources that reference was made to it directly.

Procedure Used. Beginning with a knowledge of Quebec restricted to that obtained from history courses, and newspaper and magazine articles available to the general public, I thought it necessary to obtain some first-hand impressions and information, in order to provide a more adequate background for the assimilation and evaluation of fact and opinion which would come to light in further study. Such experience was obtained in three summer visits to the province between 1964 and 1966.

In the most extensive, a period of three months in the summer of 1965, my family and I travelled about 5,000 miles inside the province of Quebec. Our itinerary included visits of varying duration to most of the populated regions of the province from north to south and east to west.

At each stopping place, opportunities were found, or made, to converse with a great variety of people about their province. From the opinions, ideas and feelings expressed by farmers and fishermen, technicians and labourers, housewives and professionals, professors and university students, civil servants and business men, a varied if informal sample was obtained. Some of the people interviewed spoke of publications which, once obtained, led to others. Of particular value was the contribution of Information Officers of the various ministries of the government of Quebec. Not only did they provide material produced by their departments and the names of other useful references, but they also contributed valuable opinions and accounts of personal experiences.



Visits to the universities and to the Provincial Archives in Quebec added further material, as did contacts with the officers of such organizations as teacher associations, the credit union movement and the trade union movement.

The material gathered personally has been supplemented by that available in the libraries of the university of Alberta, and the universities of Laval and McGill. Recent publications of the universities, publishing houses, and government departments of the province of Quebec have been examined. Correspondence with certain people has been maintained, and further reference made to the continuing work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Organization of the Material. Fundamental to the understanding of Quebec is a knowledge of the economy. The second chapter deals with this topic. From the basis of the physical regions, climate and natural resources, consideration is given to the traditional industries and their development up to the present, as well as to more recently established industries. Certain economic problems are reviewed along with some solutions now being attempted. Significant among them is the activity of the government in stimulating the economy. An experiment in economic planning in an economically under-privileged region is discussed because, apart from its present importance, it may well prove to be a pattern for other regional developments in Quebec.

Although the history of the province is as important to understanding Quebec as is the economy, no specific chapter is devoted to it.







Instead, discussion of each topic includes reference to historical aspects. They are of particular importance in discussing the people, the subject of Chapter III. From the major facts of history have developed certain attitudes among the people of Quebec. Among the conditions which existed in the early days of colonization were those that have influenced accepted values and beliefs, even though present conditions may be such as to require a different set of values. Such topics as the ideal of the rural life, the role of the family, social elites, and business attitudes are among those affected by changed conditions. One aspect of the description of the people is particularly important: the existence of individuals whose lives do not conform to the social and cultural patterns of their times. Included in this category, for example, are those who have opposed the authority of the church, and those whose political activity has been federal rather than provincial.

Political activity is one of the most important activities that any people can undertake. Politics in Quebec, therefore, is the subject of Chapter IV. As a result of their early experience with democracy, French-Canadians doubted the value for them of this form of government. The consequent use and abuse of the democratic process is considered before recent changes which have taken place. The political parties are described and compared; but their common ground, nationalism, is given more emphasis than other aspects of party programmes. Nationalism and separatism are distinguished; alternatives to separatism are suggested.



Permeating the whole social and cultural life of Quebec is the influence of the Church. In Chapter V, its role is discussed in three major periods: the French regime, the English regime, and Contemporary Society. In each period, the role of the church in social life, including politics, education and economy is considered. Conflicting values and changed and changing attitudes concerning the Church are important.

Among the Church's spheres of activity was its influence on the development of Trade Unions, the subject of Chapter VI. The Catholic trade union movement is the aspect of unionism emphasized, because of its particular significance in Quebec. The role of such unions in some disputes, their relations with other unions, and their current non-confessional nature are a vital part of current changes in social structures in Quebec.

Education, like the trade union movement, first developed under the auspices of the church. Chapter VII includes a summary of church activity throughout the period of French control, and subsequent attempts to create a civil authority in education. A description follows of the characteristics which, for a hundred years, dominated the system of education, even through the expansion of the first half of the twentieth century. Finally, current reforms are described along with some reactions to them.

Cultural activity in its narrower sense of artistic activity is expanding and in some ways changing, as are the other areas considered. Chapter VIII outlines some of the major influences and trends in literature, theatre, art, handicrafts, and architecture.





The final chapter is a review of the most important aspects described in chapters two to eight. In selecting those cultural characteristics distinctive to Quebec and those which the province shares with others, an attempt is made to test the hypothesis that the culture of Quebec is at the same time distinctive and North American.



## CHAPTER II

### THE ECONOMY OF QUEBEC

"Quebec, Land of the Future"

- Jean-Charles Harvey

In this chapter a general, and rather simplified statement of the physical geography of Quebec is given as background for the presentation of information about the major industries and occupations of the province. A brief survey of the historical development of the major industries is included since it is in this area that many current reports about conditions in Quebec have their foundation. A review of present conditions and influences is given in order to account for the feeling, common throughout the province that the people are participating in a period of economic prosperity and continuing development such as they have never previously felt.

#### PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Physical Regions. There are three major physical regions, each of which has its claim to pre-eminence. The largest area is that comprising the plateau of the Laurentians, all the vast area of the north, accounting for over ninety per cent of the almost six hundred<sup>1</sup> thousand square miles of the total area of the province.

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1

Walter B. Percival, "Quebec", Encyclopedia Americana, 1958 edition, Vol. xxiii, p. 71.





South of this region, on both sides of the St. Lawrence River, lie the fertile lowlands named after the river which they border. Some seventy miles wide in the vicinity of Montreal, the plain narrows rapidly so that a few miles east of Quebec city on the north shore, the plateau forms the banks of the river.<sup>2</sup> On the south shore, a narrow coastal plain extends about seventy miles until it is cut off by the Appalachian plateau, the third of the major physical regions.<sup>3</sup> Herein is included the area known as the Lower St. Lawrence, the Gaspé Peninsula, and all that part of the province south of the St. Lawrence Lowlands.<sup>4</sup>

All three areas have been modified, though in different fashion, by the action of glaciers. Thus, in the Laurentian region are to be found the many round-topped mountains, standing up like giant ant hills among the forest and farmlands. Around them lie the extensive deposits of sand left by the glaciers. Here is what the farmers call the "yellow earth", not a very fertile soil.<sup>5</sup> By contrast the St. Lawrence Lowlands and the Appalachian Plateau are formed of more varied soils which are more favourable for farming.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Raoul Blanchard, Le Canada Français, (Paris, Montreal: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1960), p. 17

<sup>3</sup>"Le Québec", Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, (Monaco: Editions Paul Bory, No. 56, Janvier-Février, 1964), Special number, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Blanchard, op. cit. p. 17.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



Climate. In many respects the climate of Quebec is similar to that of the prairie provinces. It is characterized by a rigorous and long winter, a hot summer, and brief spring and fall seasons.<sup>7</sup>

Average winter temperatures, whatever the latitude or altitude, vary between 14 degrees Fahrenheit and 7 degrees Fahrenheit, with a tendency for the Montreal region to be a little less cold (14 degrees Fahrenheit) and for the North West to be colder, about 1 degree Fahrenheit). The whole province is subjected to ordeals of much more severe cold which, without omitting any region, cause the thermometer to go down to -49 degrees Fahrenheit from Montreal to the desolate regions of the Great North.<sup>8</sup>

At Val D'Or a tenant in a permanent trailer park reported temperatures of -60 degrees during the 1964-65 winter, low enough to freeze diesel fuel used for heating purposes.

The average summer temperature for most regions in the province is 60 to 70 degrees Fahrenheit, although the Labrador Current tends to cool the Gulf of St. Lawrence region. Every area is also subject to occasional extreme summer temperatures, over 95 degrees.<sup>9</sup> Visitors to the province during the summer find it difficult to accustom themselves to the humid heat frequently experienced.

"Fundamentally, the Canadian spring is a disgraceful winter."<sup>10</sup> Both spring and fall are short seasons, lasting but a few weeks, but

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<sup>7</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., (see appendix)

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 35

"Canadian" refers here to French-Canada, or Quebec.





there is a greater regional variation in the length of these seasons than there is variation in temperatures in winter and summer. This is exemplified by the variety of the time that snow cover lasts: 12-13 weeks in the Montreal area, 16-17 around Quebec, 20-22 in the Eastern Townships, 23-24 on the north shore of the St. Lawrence Gulf. One authority reports that the Laurentian forest, in the shelter of its conifers, can retain its snow into July; that is seven or eight months.

To these periods of snow cover correspond, in reverse, the length of the useful season, that which is made up of the period between the spring frosts and the first frost of winter. In this also, regional differences are considerable. The plain of Montreal is privileged (140 days without frost), as is the rest of the St. Lawrence Lowlands (120-140), the first plateaus of the Appalachians and the Laurentians, on both sides of the St. Lawrence (120-140) and the plain of Lake St. Jean (110-120). Farther to the north it falls rapidly to less than 80 days without frost.

Precipitation is spread very evenly: winter 23.5%, summer 27.5%. In winter it comes in the form of snow, the depth of which varies according to the duration of the cold weather: 2.5 metres at Montreal, 3 metres at Quebec, 3.5 metres in the southern part of the Appalachians, more than 4 metres on the summits of the Laurentians and the Gaspé Peninsula.

This thick covering protects the soil and plants from the excessive cold, avoids the permanent freezing of the ground in the inhabited part, swells the streams and rivers in the spring thaw, permits an increased mobility in the wooded areas, but constitutes an obstacle to road and rail traffic which slows down the economic life of the country.<sup>13</sup>

The precipitation and protective snow-cover explain, at least in part, the beauty of tree-lined streets and roads that the traveller can-

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11

Perspectives d'Outremer op. cit., p. 19.

12

Blanchard, op. cit., p. 37

13

Perspectives d'Outremer op. cit., p. 19 (see appendix)





not help but notice with pleasure as he passes through the many small towns and villages on both sides of the St. Lawrence. Undoubtedly also, the length of time which has been available for the development of this abundance of cultivated natural beauty must also be taken into consideration.

Natural Resources. Apart from the cultivated trees, however, it is the natural forest of Quebec which is, at the same time, striking in its beauty and immensity, and one of the province's major natural resources. The proportion of coniferous or deciduous trees varies with physical conditions. Both types are economically important, the coniferous trees mainly for the pulp and paper industry, and the deciduous trees for the lumber industry. The sugar maple, though not so important economically, is certainly as well known because of the picturesque activities associated with the production of maple sugar.

In this wooded area are to be found many of the lakes which cover approximately 71,000 square miles, about one-eighth of the province's total area.<sup>14</sup> For the outdoorsman, particularly the fisherman, it is worth noting that the water-covered area is one and four-fifths times the size of the total populated area.<sup>15</sup> From these many lakes flow the rivers, which, as the source of hydro-electric power, are perhaps Quebec's most important natural resource.

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14

Percival, op. cit., p. 71.

15

Perspectives d'Outremer, op. cit., p. 19.



Since the province has no known deposits of coal and oil, it is easy to see the importance placed on the development of hydro-electric power. Harvey states that:

The superabundance of fresh water, which makes for the beauty of this territory, also accounts for its wealth. In large measure, our economic future depends on it, considering that the supply of cheap power in its immense volume is likely to stimulate new industries and new towns.<sup>16</sup>

One of the major natural resources of Quebec is its farmlands on the lower levels of the two plateaus and more particularly in the rich and fertile valley of the St. Lawrence. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the forests have also been of prime importance. While still continuing to play an important part in the economy of Quebec, both farmlands and forests are decreasing in relative importance with the discovery and development of mineral wealth. The following opinion illustrates an attitude commonly found in the province.

The underground riches of Quebec have hardly been tapped. According to the geologists, this country will become, sooner or later, one of the world's principal producers of metals and minerals of all sorts.<sup>17</sup>

#### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

##### Primary Industries

The Fur Trade. In the earliest period of French activity in

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<sup>16</sup>Jean-Charles Harvey, Visages du Quebec, (Montreal: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1964), p. 138 (see appendix)

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 141 (see appendix)





Canada, it was none of these natural resources which attracted the newcomers. "It is well known that the traffic in furs was the origin of the colony and that for more than two centuries was the most active agent in its economy."<sup>18</sup>

Commenting on early efforts at colonization, one writer said, "...the fur trade cannot alone promote a powerful maritime and commercial expansion."<sup>19</sup> Of the year 1663, when the population had reached 2,500, the same reporter noted that "The fur trade brought profit to 500 coureurs de bois who, abandoning agriculture, lived as nomads, attracted to the woods by a need for adventure and liberty, the young Indian maidens and fortune."<sup>20</sup> In the eighteenth century, Montreal became the fur centre, with its annual fairs to which nearby Indians brought their pelts. In the spring, "with the melting of the ice a horde of 1,200 to 1,500 voyageurs" set off in their bark canoes for the west, to return in September.<sup>21</sup> After 1760, the Anglo-Scottish traders took over the trade, which expanded under the direction of the newly formed North-West Company with headquarters in Montreal. Even after the merger with the Hudson Bay Company, Montreal remained the capital of the trade, which continued to provide the colony's chief export until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>18</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 162 (see appendix)

<sup>19</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 71 (see appendix)

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 73 (see appendix)

<sup>21</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 162





In the twentieth century, even the addition of pelts raised on fur farms has failed to maintain the trade's prominence. It now holds similar rank in the total economy to that of the marketing of blueberries. As Blanchard expresses it, "The exploitation of fur bearing animals counts for so little that it is hardly more than a memory".<sup>22</sup>

Agriculture. The colorful and adventurous lives of the coureurs de bois and the fur traders, and the importance of the trade in providing the major export for so long tend to overshadow the real importance of agriculture in the history of the people of Quebec. As one observer asserts, "agriculture was for three centuries the major occupation of Canadians of French stock, as well as that of the British who came to establish themselves beside them".<sup>23</sup>

Although it was the major occupation, agriculture as practised during the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century did no more than supply food for the colony. The first task of the colonist was to clear enough land for immediate needs: the raising of cattle, sheep, grains and root crops. The task was repeated each time that a new area of the province was opened by the demands of an ever growing population, or by the deliberate policy of colonisation. The character of the défricheur, the pioneer clearer of land, has become well known, almost as well known as the earlier coureur de bois. Such a man was Samuel Chapdelaine in Hémon's well known story of the Lac St. Jean region.

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 163 (see appendix)

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 117 (see appendix)



Only with the passing of authority to the English was an export trade established. The first item in the trade was a by-product of the land clearing process. From the burning of trees and stumps came the potash needed for fertilizer in Britain, where a growing industrialization and the transforming of fields into pasture were creating a demand for more productive agricultural methods.

More and more, there developed a market within Canada for the Produce of the earliest settled regions. Settlers in newly developed areas needed food for themselves as well as fodder for an increasing number of work animals. Further demand came from the growing population of Montreal and Quebec, as well as the smaller towns which were increasing in number and size. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the growing of oats was replacing much of the wheat production, and the regions around the cities of Montreal and Quebec were specializing in dairy products. Thus, as the prairies of Western Canada became more and more the country's grain producing region, Quebec's own increasing consumer market was able to use the products the province had previously exported.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new demand was created for hay. The demand arose in three areas: in the Prairies, where grains were an almost exclusive product; in Quebec and Ontario, where the development of the forests required large numbers of work horses; and in the United States. The demand increased continually up to 1914, and again with renewed vigour from 1917 to 1929. With the exception of those of British origin in the south-western part of the





province who stayed with their tradition of stock farming, farmers were caught up in this "hay fever". Over the thirty-year period in which the market lasted, it brought higher profits, easier work and material advantages previously unknown.

The prosperity which the market for hay had brought came to an abrupt end with the increased use of automobiles which coincided with the economic crisis of 1929. Many habitants gave up their farms and migrated to Montreal or other urban centres. A new outlook was forced upon those who remained, resulting in a reassessment of their situation. This reassessment led to the organization of farm cooperatives, and to increased specialization, both characteristics of farming in the province today, particularly in the Lowlands.<sup>24</sup>

The decrease in the number of farm workers continues, from 275,000 before World War II to 150,000 in 1961.

However, an increased mechanization, the accelerated electrification of farms, better techniques, have compensated for the decrease in personnel with a noticeable increase in productivity. Nevertheless, agriculture in Quebec has not entirely changed its appearance. To a few highly productive regions is contrasted the majority of the agricultural area, with traditionally feeble yields, and with activities too diverse to be productive.<sup>25</sup>

Exploitation of the Forests. From the earliest days of settlement there was a close relationship between agriculture and the exploitation of the forest. At first the relationship was incidental, in that clearing the land to provide space for crops also provided building

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-122

<sup>25</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 103 (see appendix)





materials for immediate use. From this activity developed the trade in potash or pearl ash mentioned earlier. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "it was the exploitation of wood for commercial purposes which took the lead and agricultural development was but a puny consequence of it".<sup>26</sup>

An American, Philemon Wright, had incurred considerable expense in clearing 480 acres of land on the four large farms he held. By marketing the felled trees he hoped to defray part of that expense. With the Napoleonic blockade of Britain's Scandinavian timber market, the opportunity was ripe to open up an export trade with Britain. Wright's venture was soon imitated by others.<sup>27</sup>

Wright also introduced the method of transporting the logs by using the water ways. Between June 1806 and the end of the summer, despite hold-ups at the rapids, Wright's logs reached Montreal, and in 1807 made their way in rafts to Quebec for shipment to England. Thus, the traffic in wood was launched and was soon to take on vast proportions. In the fifty years following Wright's introduction of the industry, exploitation of most of the present wood producing areas was initiated.<sup>28</sup> Blanchard summarizes the history of the forest industry in these terms:

Without ever being completely interrupted, the work has passed through several ups and downs; after the furnishing of lumber destined for England, the lumber camps served to supply the saw

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<sup>26</sup> Blanchard, op. cit., p. 122 (see appendix)

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 123

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 123-124





mills, then they dedicated themselves to the supplying of the pulp and paper mills.<sup>29</sup>

Since the early days when lumbering provided the opportunity for supplementary work of an unskilled or semi-skilled nature for agricultural workers, many changes have occurred in the methods of exploiting the forests. "It (lumbering) has reached the first stage in a strictly industrial, mechanized programme, reserved for the permanent and specialized employees of the big companies, which are concerned with efficiency and productivity."<sup>30</sup>

Along with changes in the personnel came changes in techniques, such as those described by Harvey:

Formerly the felling was done with the axe. There, as elsewhere, mechanization has been introduced which accelerates and eases the tasks. The mechanical saw has replaced the slashing of steel, and motor vehicles have replaced horses. The powerful bulldozer has reached here, too, to trace the roads necessary for the cut logs, and by that very fact, facilitating communication in the winter with the outside world.<sup>31</sup>

Harvey also gives a vivid description of the spring drive, in which the industry takes full advantage of water courses to bring the logs, cut into approximately four foot lengths, to the mill or the port for shipment to plants in Quebec or overseas.

Nothing is more impressive than to see the descent of the logs in the rapids, the noise of the pouring water, heavy, icy, the noise which announces summer, the great log jams in the cascades or in the deeps flowering with foam, the current swirling in eddies of white froth, the freeing of jams with dynamite, the

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 124 (see appendix)

<sup>30</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 111 (see appendix)

<sup>31</sup>Harvey, op. cit., p. 128 (see appendix)





bursting of dams, the peeled trunks rolling over one another, standing up, vertical, and seeming to wave their arms like men in distress, falling back finally and going on their way again as if in terror.<sup>32</sup>

One sight particularly, though but a detail, reflects the immense size of the industry. At Riverbend, a Price Brothers' company town in the Lake St. Jean area, the logs were being piled for the winter supply by means of an elevator which brought them up from the water to a storage area near the plant. As they dropped from the top of the escalator, four-foot logs, each of which would be a good armful for any man, looked like matches tumbling into a heap, sometimes bouncing down the sides of the pile like the playthings of a small child.

Similar logs spilling off the end of a flume into the harbour at Baie Comeau created the same impression, especially as the flume was first seen some fifteen miles back in the mountains of the area, and was a recurring sight from the road as it wound its way down to the shipping point.

Mines and Minerals. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, some metal products were made in the region of Trois Rivières, and lime and bricks were produced in the Lowlands towards the end of the century. Copper, first mined in the Sherbrooke area about 1850, is now produced in other areas of the province. The mining of asbestos, originating in the Thetford area in 1876, has continually expanded so that Quebec now

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Harvey, op. cit., p. 138 (see appendix. A more lengthy quotation than that cited is given because it is a vivid description.)



produces 38 per cent of the world's asbestos. An attempt to produce lead and zinc in the Gaspé in 1909 was not commercially successful, and it was not until 1955, with the substantial copper production at <sup>33</sup> Murdochville, that the area benefited from its mineral resources.

Mineral production in the Sudbury-Kirkland region in Ontario led to exploration in the adjacent area of western Quebec. Subsequent discoveries have been made and developed increasingly during the twentieth century. Northwest Quebec has deposits of gold, copper, zinc, lead, molybdenum, lithium and silver. The iron ore deposits of Ungava in the Northeast are already well known, but there are also deposits of manganese and nickel. Quebec produces all of Canada's titanium, magnesium dolomite, colombium, lithium and molybdenite, and 94 per cent of Canadian <sup>34</sup> pyrite. Recently, important discoveries of asbestos have also been made in the north eastern area. When, in addition, consideration is given to the extensive reserves of copper, zinc and granite in the Eastern <sup>35</sup> Townships of the Appalachian region, Harvey's optimism is not surprising.

Nowhere does a mining operation add to the beauty of a region. The slag heaps and tipples seem to mar the natural or pastoral surroundings, and this is true for the mining towns of Quebec, from Noranda and

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<sup>33</sup>

Blanchard, op. cit., pp. 167-8

<sup>34</sup>

Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 135

<sup>35</sup>

See note 17, p. 16.





Val D'Or in the north, to Thetford and Asbestos in the south. However, the prosperity of the people of the mining areas, when compared with the conditions of people in the depressed areas of the province, provides some basis for my belief that the loss of natural beauty is offset by the gain in material well-being of the people.

Between 1961 and 1964 the value of mineral production in Quebec increased from about 450 million dollars to 670 million dollars. Most of this increase was due to the development of new mines. Between 1961 and 1962, the value of iron ore production, because of such development, more than doubled from 54 to 112 million dollars. For the first time, the value of iron ore outranked that of the long established leader, asbestos, and continues to do so in spite of the increased values for asbestos production. In 1964, new mines producing zinc and copper were mainly responsible for an increased value of 63 million dollars for these metals.<sup>36</sup>

The effect of these developments is an air of optimism about the economic future of the province. Even where local conditions are such that the area may be considered as one experiencing economic depression, a measure of this optimism is to be encountered. To some extent the optimism can be accounted for by government projects which tend to re-allocate the wealth of the province. Increased spending by the more prosperous inhabitants of the province also has its effect. An uncertain,

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<sup>36</sup>Quebec Economic Situation, 1964, (Quebec: Department of Industry and Commerce, Bureau of Economic Research), pp. 52, 53.





but possible influence is the contact between members of families who come from the varied economic regions and the consequent spread of optimism, or even actual financial help, from one member of the family to another.<sup>37</sup>

Fishing. As early as the seventeenth century, fishing was an important occupation in the new colony. Though today it is still an important industry on the north coast of the St. Lawrence, the Gaspé Peninsula, and the Madeleine Islands, it is of very low rank in the total economy. Frequently affected by world market conditions, such as the increased demand for fish during the second world war and the sudden drop in demand after the war, fishing has experienced a serious reduction in the number of people employed in the industry. From about 12,000 in 1935,<sup>38</sup> the number including both fishermen and plant workers, had dropped to about 6,000 in 1961, and has remained close to that figure ever since. Total market value of the product in 1964 amounted to little more than ten million dollars.<sup>39</sup>

Many of the men in coastal regions combine fishing and farming. Frequently the division of effort between the two occupations merely aggravates the poor results in both. One such fisherman-farmer who ekes out a living by supplying the local hotel with lobster and some salmon

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<sup>37</sup>Government stimulation of the economy will be discussed later in this chapter. Family relationships will be considered in the next chapter.

<sup>38</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 196

<sup>39</sup>Quebec Economic Situation, 1964, op. cit., p. 45



and cod, said that his children, like most of the younger people, have left the district because there is no work for them. Even for the few older folk like himself the fishing is poor since "they" let the "trawlers" into the local waters.

With government assistance, the fishermen's cooperative association at Percé has installed a freezing plant which replaces the picturesque drying racks to be seen elsewhere on the Gaspé coast. The plant has helped to lessen the marginal nature of the town's economy, but the fishermen have also taken advantage of tourist attractions in the immediate area, to help improve local economic conditions. However, the tourist season is limited effectively to some eight weeks, and the returns of the fishermen's investment, considerable in relation to their economic position, must largely be put back into the business for purposes of maintenance and development.

A decreasing number of workers to share the returns from slowly rising prices for the product suggests a gradual improvement in the economic condition of those who remain. Nevertheless, when one considers that the average annual income of fishermen in 1964 was only 1,500 dollars,<sup>40</sup> one can readily see that the worker in this industry will for some time be unable to reach a standard of living comparable to that of workers generally throughout Canada.<sup>41</sup> Diversion of some workers to

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Even if all the workers in plants are considered as also being fishermen, that is, as obtaining income from both sources, the average income still amounts to only 2,400 dollars annually. Calculations based on figures in Quebec Economic Situation 1964, p. 45.







other industries and increased productivity through greater capitalization may prove to be the necessary solution to the problem common to the areas where fishing is the major industry.

Hydro-Electric Power. Although primary industries account for only ten per cent of gross production value in the province, their importance far exceeds the monetary return derived from them because they are the base for the development of other industries.<sup>42</sup> Especially is this true of hydro-electric power. Although the value of production of 270 million dollars ranks only third among primary industries, it is almost the only form of power in Quebec. Its availability at reasonable cost therefore controls in large measure the development of the manufacturing sector.

During the nineteenth century, some rivers were already being used to provide power for mills used in the first manufacturing in the province. The harnessing of Chaudières Falls on the Ottawa River, in 1889, marks the beginning of the development of hydro-electric power. Rapid expansion occurred during the next twenty years as a result of development by industrial concerns, particularly the pulp and paper companies. Production has almost doubled every ten years since 1920, to reach 12.4 million horse power in 1960.<sup>43</sup> Although the policy of nationalization and government investment will be treated elsewhere, it should be noted

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 105

<sup>43</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 117



that continued and increased government investment is recorded for each year, and is forecast to continue for some time.

The vital significance of hydro-electric power in Quebec can be easily illustrated. Of Canada's 1961 output of 113.2 kilowatt hours,<sup>44</sup> third in world rank "after Africa and the U.S.S.R.",<sup>45</sup> the contribution of Quebec was 49.8 billion, or almost half. Quebec boasts the highest per capita production of electric power in the world, and at the lowest prices.<sup>46</sup>

Projects like the Manicouagan-aux-Outardes development on the north shore of the St. Lawrence assure the continued expansion of available power basic to the industrial development of the Province. When finished, the Manic-Outardes project will comprise seven dams and generating installations on the two rivers. The dams, ranging up to 505 feet in height, will be among the biggest constructions in the world.<sup>47</sup> The massive concrete arches on the Manicouagan, seeming to grow out of the very rock, will hold back the waters of a reservoir that will require ten years to fill. The total project involving the investment of an average of 150 million dollars each year for several years, will eventually produce over seven million horsepower to be carried to the develop-

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<sup>44</sup>Quebec Economic Situation 1963, p. 39, 1964, p. 56

<sup>45</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 116

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 117

<sup>47</sup>Manicouagan, Hydro-Quebec 1964, (pages not numbered)





ing industries in the province and elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> During the early summer of 1966, for example, the state of Vermont was reported to be negotiating with Hydro-Quebec to supply its needs.<sup>49</sup> Power may thus become an added export to aid not only Quebec's, but Canada's balance of trade with the United States.

Although the Manicouagon-aux-Outardes development is of massive proportions and great technical difficulty, an earlier project of a private developer gave an example of the ingenuity sometimes needed to overcome difficulties in construction. When the Aluminum Company of Canada undertook its Shipshaw project on the Saguenay River, the deep, fast flowing water made construction so difficult that the dam was actually built above the river and then literally tipped into place to divert the waters through the plant. The viewer, seeing the mighty flow and fall of rushing waters, can only wonder at the ingenuity of man in his drive to control the forces of nature and turn them to his use.

### Manufacturing

Importance and Expansion. Important as the primary occupations are in themselves and as a base for others, it is nevertheless true that manufacturing is by far the sector of the economy with the highest gross production value. The total gross production for 1964 of the five industries already discussed amounted to a little more than 1.5

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Radio C.B.V., Quebec, 19 May, 1966





billion dollars. The corresponding figure for manufacturing was almost nine billion dollars.<sup>50</sup>

Employment figures are also a significant measure of the importance of this sector. While agriculture has shown a decline in number of employees over the years, the manufacturing sector shows a growth between the years 1920 and 1961, from 183,000 to 434,000 employees. About two thirds of this expansion took place between 1939 and 1949, with a ten per cent increase in each of the other decades up to 1960. An additional 51,000 employees, between 1960 and 1964, however, represents an increase of more than eleven per cent in four years, an indication of the accelerated expansion of this period.<sup>51</sup>

Major Groups. The following quotation gives an unusual, but realistic classification of Quebec industry into four groups.

1. The group of ageing industries, which has serious difficulties: the wood and leather industries.

2. Then come the classic industries, long established: paper and tobacco, quite prosperous, and the textile and clothes manufacturing industries, whose real progress is not very vigorous.

3. A third group brings together the prosperous industries: the food industry, which has benefited from the increase in the Canadian population and the increase in its standard of living; the processing of non-metallic minerals, in which the progress is the reflection of the rapid development in construction.<sup>52</sup>

4. The fourth group is rapidly changing the appearance of Quebec industry and gives an idea of the structure it will have in a few decades: electrical construction, chemical industry, and, evidence of the high

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<sup>50</sup>Quebec Economic Situation 1964, op. cit., p. 105

<sup>51</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 153 and Quebec Economic Situation 1964, op. cit., p. 59

<sup>52</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., pp. 154, 155 (see appendix)





standard of living of individuals as of societies, the printing and publishing industry.<sup>53</sup>

Part of the third group are metalworks and mechanical construction, of which three industries merit particular mention: i. naval construction and manufacture of railroad stock, ii. the processing of iron and steel (partially finished products, and iii. the production of non-ferrous metals which carries over into the fourth group, industries which are booming.<sup>54</sup>

Since 1962, "employment has been growing faster in the durable goods sector...than in the non-durable goods sector".<sup>55</sup> Among industries affected were those, such as the production of electrical appliances and fixtures, which also indicate an upward development in the standard of living.

The extent of manufacturing in Quebec, its economic importance, and its effect on occupations can perhaps be seen in a comparison with Alberta. Quebec's population is between three and four times as great as that of Alberta, but the number of workers engaged in manufacturing in Quebec in 1961 was more than ten times as great.<sup>56</sup>

The production of maple sugar and maple sugar products, the production of charcoal, and the making of hand-made products of wood and

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 155, 156 (see appendix)

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> La situation économique, Québec 1965, (Quebec: Department of Industry and Commerce, Bureau of Economic Research), p. 36

<sup>56</sup> Quebec Yearbook 1965, p. 507





other materials are worth noting because, although their economic significance is slight, they continue to remind the visitor of the traditional occupations of Quebec.

### Construction

Construction, like manufacturing, exceeds the primary industries in gross production value. Levels of increase in construction have been varied in the sixties, reaching a total gross production value of well over two billion dollars in 1964.<sup>57</sup> The increase in this year was largely due to engineering works in industrial, commercial, and institutional building rather than residential construction.<sup>58</sup> Such work is made necessary by increasing industrial and commercial expansion. Projects such as those mentioned in describing the hydro-electric industry, along with road work and other government programs are a strong influence in this part of the economy.

### Service Industries

Service industries also exceed the primary industries in gross production value, over three billion dollars in 1964, an expansion of more than 8 per cent for the third year in a row.<sup>59</sup> The high level of percentage increase in employment in services, almost 30 per cent between 1960 and 1964,<sup>60</sup> compared with lower percentage increase, or in fact

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<sup>57</sup> Quebec Economic Situation 1964, p. 104

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 103, 104

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 105

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 33



decrease in some industries, indicates strongly a shift in occupational trends and, perhaps, standard of living.

Some changes in the redistribution of labour are illustrated in the following figures. Between 1941 and 1961 the labour force increased by 625,000 people. The decrease in agricultural employment, about 100,000 people, was offset by an increase in industrial employment, leaving a surplus of 600,000 workers. Mines, hydro-electricity and transportation provide employment for some of these, but construction and tertiary activities have absorbed the major part. In particular, between 1950 and 1960, services increased its numbers by 50 per cent, banks and financial institutions by 62 per cent and commerce by 41 per cent.<sup>61</sup>

The Tourist Industry. New hotels, motels, restaurants and other facilities for tourists are obvious to the traveler in Quebec, particularly near the two main cities, Montreal and Quebec. However, expansion of private commercial facilities such as these is only part of the general expansion in which government activity is a major influence.

An official of the Department of Tourism gave several examples of the expansion which is taking place. In 1963 there were no recognized camping sites in the province. By 1965, the Tourist Bureau listed 354 establishments. As a result of inspections by government officers, following the law of 1964 placing these establishments under the same kind of control as hotels, 91 of the 354 have been closed, but 79 new

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<sup>61</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 95





ones have been licensed.<sup>62</sup>

A combined federal-provincial-municipal government program has developed a whole mountain as a new ski centre at the town of Beaupré near the famous shrine. Initial investment reached one and a half million dollars. Opened first in the winter of 1965-66, its lifts bring the skier to more than 15 1/2 miles of trails of varying difficulty and length, as well as to a panoramic view of the St. Lawrence river and its adjacent countryside. This is to be the site of the Canadian Winter Games in the 1966-67 season.

The Department of Lands and the Department of Tourism, Fish and Game together budgeted about seven million dollars in 1966, more than in any previous year, for the development of existing provincial parks, and new camp grounds and roadside parks. The government owned Hydro-Quebec is developing a large park at Carillon, and plans another a few miles east of Quebec at Montmorency Falls, a magnificent cascade reported to be one hundred feet higher than Niagara Falls.

The World Exposition of 1967 is expected to bring ten million people to the Montreal area. This is twice the usual estimated number of people who visit the province of Quebec each year. In an attempt to interest these visitors in other parts of the province, the Tourist Bureau is beginning its advertising campaign in the late fall instead of spring, and will provide each enquirer with seven booklets which it has had pro-

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<sup>62</sup>This and the following information supplied in an interview with Mr. R. Prévost, Sous-ministre adjoint, Ministère du Tourisme, de la chasse et de la pêche, June 1, 1966.





duced. Each guide book is based on convenient road routes and illustrates with plentiful photographs the many attractions which can be seen. Descriptions in both French and English are given, along with historical or legendary accounts of the sights. They form both a valuable guide and souvenir for the tourist.

The estimated income from the tourist industry, including fall and winter visitors, is about 350 million dollars. Certainly Quebec enjoys remarkable variety for tourists. It has both maritime and inland facilities for summer activities. Skiing is a major attraction in winter and spring. The vast forests provide plentiful hunting and fishing in the fall. Montreal is one of North America's major convention centres. In addition, of course, in Quebec City and the many old towns along the St. Lawrence there is an "old world" atmosphere that gives the visitor a feeling of being abroad as he tours this land of the French language.

#### SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Labour Force. The industries which depend on an abundant supply of labour are confronted with two problems. The first is the decreasing number of workers required because of automation. The exploitation of minerals exemplifies this problem. The second is the serious competition of producers in Europe, Japan and South East Asia, where labour is cheaper. The textile industry suffers from this problem.<sup>63</sup>

Only in recent years have secondary industries with high capitalization developed to provide employment for the increasing labour force.

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<sup>63</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 227





Moreover, as wages in Quebec tend to rise to the same level as those in other provinces, the employer loses the advantage of an abundant supply of "cheap labour".<sup>64</sup> Research and planning are required, therefore, to find means of maintaining the advantages of investment in Quebec industry.

Business Administration. There are many medium and small sized family businesses in Quebec which find themselves in competition with large limited companies. The difficulty is not peculiar to Quebec but the problem is more acute here. Many businesses are still owned and directed by the head of the family, at whose death succession duties create a serious financial strain. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to maintain the interest of the sons of the family who have had little experience in the administration of the business.<sup>65</sup>

A former executive of an employers' association in Quebec expressed a strong opinion that the Church fostered the belief that such family enterprises, with the father as owner, were the ideal way for French-Canadians to develop their businesses. The executive added that the problem was aggravated by the training and mental attitude of notaries in the province who were, and in many cases continue to be, better

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<sup>64</sup> See for example: J.H. Dales "A Comparison of Manufacturing Industry in Quebec and Ontario, 1952", in Wade M. (editor) Canadian Dualism/La Dualité Canadienne, (Toronto and Quebec: University of Toronto Press/Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), p. 216.

Resentment on the part of the Quebec worker to being labelled "cheap labour" is hastening the process of wage equalization with other areas.

<sup>65</sup> Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 226





versed and more interested in the civil code than in modern business operation. He is aware of an "immense number" of cases in which the business had to be sold in order to pay succession duties. With increased acquaintance with trust companies, and the better business advice received from them, the French-Canadian businessman is now taking the necessary protective measures against this hazard.

French-Canadian Economic Activity. It is common in the province of Quebec to deplore the too feeble participation of French Canadians in the industrial expansion of their province.<sup>66</sup> This situation had many causes. First among them was the general poverty after 1760 of the French-Canadian population, who had borne the ravages of war, including the loss of homes and businesses, personal property and tools, as well as the devaluation of their money. Another factor, in succeeding years, arose out of the prevalence of large families, which did not permit French-Canadians to build up reserves of capital in sufficient quantity to compete with the English and Scottish merchants who established themselves immediately after the cession, as well as in later years.<sup>67</sup>

More recently, smaller families, urbanization, and better education facilities have modified these limiting factors, and a considerable personal saving has occurred in the last thirty years. However, the French-Canadian tends to invest in secure investments, such as government

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 227

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.



bonds, rather than in manufacturing enterprises. Re-education in this area is needed if a change is to take place.<sup>68</sup> Part of this educative process has been undertaken for many years by the credit unions whose central organization is now a large investor in the provincial economy. Further reference to its character and role will be made in a later chapter.

Urbanization. A development which could perhaps be treated elsewhere but is nevertheless closely tied to the economy is that of urbanization. Despite popular belief to the contrary, not since 1911 has the population of Quebec been more rural than urban. According to the decennial census figures, in the fifty-year period up to 1961, the rural population has increased in total from 1,039,000 to 1,353,000. By contrast the urban population has changed from 967,000, or 48 per cent of the total, to 3,906,000 or 74 per cent of the total in the same period.<sup>69</sup> Even excluding the population of the Montreal agglomeration, the number of urban dwellers exceeds the total rural population by almost 450,000 people.<sup>70</sup> A large part of this increase results from the movement of rural inhabitants to the urban centres.

Such movement of population has brought about problems in municipal government familiar in expanding urban centres elsewhere in

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 95

<sup>70</sup>Calculations based on figures given in ibid., p. 94





Canada. The metropolitan type government effected in Montreal in 1965, and the amalgamations suggested for the Quebec City region in 1966 may solve some of the problems created by urbanization. Such problems as the need for new housing and employment opportunities remain.<sup>71</sup>

Over-centralization. A problem often referred to in Quebec, and for which some attempts at solution are being brought about, is the over-centralization of industrial and commercial activity in the Montreal region. Although accounting for only 40 per cent of the population, the region contains 45 per cent of the manufacturing industries, which because of their size produce about 60 per cent of the value of manufactured goods. In the financial world of banks, insurance companies and the like, concentration in the Montreal area is even greater than that of manufacturing.

Such concentration implies, of course, lack of development in many other areas of the province, such as the lower St. Lawrence and the Gaspé Peninsula, where the lack of industrial and commercial activity is particularly marked. The plight of the fishermen in these areas was mentioned earlier. Taxation statistics of the Department of National Revenue for the year 1961 show that the inhabitants of the Gaspé area and south shore of the St. Lawrence region had an average income of 69 per cent of the average income of the province. Nearer to Quebec City, the county of Dorchester was as low as 58.9 per cent.<sup>72</sup> These

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<sup>71</sup> Le Soleil, May 31, 1966, p. 17

<sup>72</sup> Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 227



figures reflect not only a personal low standard of living, but also a lower level of public services of all sorts and, frequently, stagnation in agriculture.<sup>73</sup>

Depressed Areas. There are other areas in the province whose level of economic activity is similar to that of the Gaspé. In the region around Lac St. Jean, there are many small villages in areas where the farming is marginal. The unpainted houses and small stores with little selection of foodstuffs or other merchandise are obvious evidence of a relatively low standard of living. The same conditions exist in the many small villages on the north shore and in the Gaspé region. The 1961 Census of Canada reports 34.7 per cent of Quebec farms operated on a part time basis or as very small production units, and a further 40 per cent as having a production value between \$1,200 and \$3,750.<sup>74</sup> At Ruisseau-Vert, some 240 miles east of Quebec City on the North Shore, the proprietor of a lunch stand selling the popular patates frites ("French fried") when asked where people in the area worked, merely shrugged his shoulders and answered, "Outside". Pressed for further information, he attested to some fishing and work in the bush. A similar response was obtained at Lac Bouchette and at St. Gédéon in the Lac St. Jean area.

Apart from the North Shore villages, however, all the regions visited showed signs, at least here and there, of being touched by some activity which tends to alleviate the situation. Lac Bouchette, far as

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<sup>73</sup>Quebec Yearbook, 1963, op. cit. p. 652

<sup>74</sup>Quebec Economic Situation 1963, op. cit., p. 26





it seems from the main centres of population, is developing tourist facilities for the people who come from the more prosperous Chicoutimi-Jonquières-Alma-Arvida agglomeration, either to visit the shrine or simply to pass a few days in the country by a lake. In addition, a new highway through the impoverished little town of Lac Bouchette, primarily to provide a shorter route from the Chicoutimi district to Montreal, is expected to bring more tourists to this birth place of a former world renowned strong man, Victor Delamarre.

A picture of this man, in a hut in the park named after him, shows a stocky figure supporting on his back a platform with twenty or more men on it; another shows him balancing the platform of a small bridge on his chest with a car and four passengers on the platform. In a third he is shown climbing a pole carrying a horse on his back.

The development of tourist facilities is a joint project of the provincial and municipal governments, which, with the added development of camping and fishing facilities on the projected road, is expected to bring about an increase in the tourist industry.

Once outside the area of the St. Lawrence Lowlands, the traveler can expect to find agricultural activity at a part-time or subsistence level.<sup>75</sup> Such is obviously the case in the Gaspé Peninsula, which exemplifies the contrast between those areas which rely only on farming

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Donald F. Putnam, editor, Canadian Regions, (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Company, 1963), Sixth Edition, p. 158, Figure 100



or fishing, and those where the tourist industry has influenced the economy, or some other factor has improved conditions.

Thus, as the visitor travels around the peninsula, he is struck by a series of drab, unpainted or long-since painted villages, broken by the appearance of an obvious tourist centre, such as Percé itself, or, a village such as Chandler, where there is a pulp mill in operation. At both centres, fresh white paint and neatly kept lawns and gardens testify to the somewhat better conditions which prevail.

#### GOVERNMENT STIMULATION OF THE ECONOMY

An examination of the organs of administration of the government of Quebec quickly reveals the importance placed on the government's role in aiding the development of the economy. More than a dozen departments are listed which, by way of research, loans, subsidies, joint projects and the like, are designed to stimulate economic activity.<sup>76</sup>

General Finance Corporation. One such organization, interesting because of its nature and organization is the Société Générale de Financement (General Finance Corporation).

S.G.F. is a company providing credit and management service. An independent company, it is controlled by the directives of its shareholders and the decisions of its administrative council. It was the government of Quebec which originated the company, but will always remain a minority shareholder and will never name more than a quarter of its administrators. The S.G.F. would be defined as a private enterprise acting in the public interest, born of a collective desire for economic expansion, but directed without political intervention.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Quebec Yearbook, 1963, op. cit., pp. 71-89

<sup>77</sup>Adèle Lauzon, "La Société Générale De Financement: sa raison d'être; ses objectifs", Quebec 65, Revue Du Ministère Des Affaires Culturelles, (Paris: May, 1964), p. 103 (see appendix)





Its activities are intended to favour the economic development of Quebec by the people of Quebec, but this intention does not prevent the company from taking advantage of investment of both capital and technical knowledge by business interests from outside the province. An excellent example is furnished in the establishment of a new fertilizer plant, Engrais du St. Laurent, scheduled to be in operation during 1966. In this case the ownership is divided equally among four groups: the S.G.F., a company with Belgian interests which will provide management and supplies of ammonia, a Canadian company which will supply sulfuric acid, and a composite group with French and Canadian interests, concerned with the process of manufacture, construction of the factory, and sale of the product.<sup>78</sup>

In the face of certain complaints, M. Gérard Filion, then General Manager of the company, made a forthright statement as to the company's role which indicates a very business-like attitude.

"The S.G.F.", he said, "is not a social assistance organization for the purpose of subsidizing non-profit making industries, with the objective of relieving unemployment which affects certain regions...Above all it must not be based on sentiment...The S.G.F. is not for granting subsidies, even intelligent subsidies. It has shareholders, little shareholders, who must not lose their money."<sup>79</sup>

Experiment in Planning. The role of the government in the Gaspé region, as in other depressed regions of the province, is of considerable importance. An economic planning and advisory board has been established

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 103-105

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 106 (see appendix)





in this area, with offices at Rimouski, with the purpose of involving the people in projects which will help to raise the level of economic activity. An incidental result of the investigation undertaken by the team of researchers sent into the area is an increased interest in general education. Many adult night classes have been organized in response to requests not only for technical training, but for academic courses as well.

The work of this advisory and planning board is to be co-ordinated into an overall organization adopted by the government in January, 1966.<sup>80</sup>

According to an official announcement:

Mr. Lesage specified that making uniform the administrative regions of the province will also serve other purposes: in the first place, it will permit the decentralization of government services; it will serve as a framework for the government's program of economic planning; it will facilitate the industrial development of Quebec and, finally, it will put an end to the administrative anarchy born of some forty different administrative systems which can be found in Quebec to this day.<sup>81</sup>

This new organization of the province into ten regions and twenty-five sub-regions is noteworthy as an example of the role that the government is playing in economic planning. It is also an excellent example of the kind of research being undertaken by the government, or on the initiative of the government. A brief description of the project is therefore included in appendix B.

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<sup>80</sup> Press Release, Department of Industry and Commerce, January 19, 1966

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.





Economy and the Culture. Another instance of government participation in the economic development of the province is the establishment of the village of Matagami on the lake of that name, some 385 miles north west of Montreal. The government's action was intended to stimulate the economy and maintain Quebec culture and Quebec control of the economy, as the following statement illustrates quite bluntly.

Everything began at Matagami in 1957 with the discovery of six beds of copper and zinc that three private companies undertook to explore and then to exploit. At the time at which extraction of the mineral began, it was estimated that reserves were about thirty million tons...

The government of Quebec wanted to make Matagami a model mining town. It took upon itself, through the Ministry of Natural Resources, the direction of the development, according to a plan of urbanization which took into account the placement of thoroughfares as well as housing developments, stores, and public buildings and parks. All the work of clearing, gravelling, electrification, sewers and water mains, along with other public services were the responsibility of the province.

In certain respects, the village of Matagami is already provided with services, notably a filtration plant and water purification plant, which are still lacking in many Quebec towns. The government undertook the complete responsibility of establishing this new agglomeration for a population of 2,300 inhabitants, to avoid the economic, social and cultural domination by Anglo-Saxon mining companies of a French-Canadian community, as had happened in other Quebec mining towns. (emphasis not in original)

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Nearly a thousand French-Canadians, working in the plant and the mines of Matagami, are continuing there the tradition of the first French pioneers.<sup>82</sup>

Nationalization of Electricity. The nationalization of hydro-electric power has been a major part of government policy. Initiated by a Liberal government in 1944, Hydro-Quebec, the government agency, was

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<sup>82</sup> Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 151 (see appendix)





formed by the nationalization of three private companies. Gradually becoming the largest producer and supplier of electric power in the province, it included among its customers some private companies, which in turn sold power at a profit to their customers.

In view of the diversity of price and quality of service, and seeing in hydro-electricity an important factor basic to the encouragement of new industries, another Liberal government fought the successful 1962 election on the issue of total nationalization of the industry. The only producers remaining outside the scheme are the Aluminum Company of Canada and certain mining companies, which produce power only for their own use.<sup>83</sup>

The company has carried out its original mandate of supplying power at the cheapest rate compatible with sound administration, as seen by the decreasing prices for each of the first nineteen years of operation.<sup>84</sup> In addition, as pointed out earlier, it has been one of the largest investors in the provincial economy.

Government Participation and Personal Independence. The mixture of government activity in conjunction with that of individual citizens, as expressed in the work of the General Finance Corporation, the tourist industry, and the economic development committees, seems particularly suited to the people of Quebec. A spirit of personal independence is

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., pp. 236, 237

<sup>84</sup>Pamphlet supplied by Hydro-Quebec





very common, according to my observation of a number of people in varied circumstances throughout the province. A municipal foreman at Lac Bouchette, in discussing the economic future of the area, perhaps typified one attitude towards the role of the government. He gave the impression that it was not for the government to do things for the people of the district, but rather to provide the means by which they could do things for themselves.

At another level, civil servants, far from being mere executors, appear to have a firm conviction that theirs is a creative function, within the framework of general government policy, of course. The government seems to foster this spirit of creative independence in a number of ways. One indication of this attitude is to be seen in the Department of Education. A man of obviously independent mind, an extremely severe public critic of the education system of Quebec, the famous Frère Untel, is now employed by the Department of Education as Director of Secondary Education. Another indication of an independent spirit is seen in political speeches. Frequently, from many different types of people, came the expression of what can only be described as gleeful acceptance of public speeches by cabinet ministers offering contradictory points of view. Yet there was no feeling that this was a sign of weakness in the government. On the contrary, it was read as an indication that the public would be better served.

Among the best known for the kind of statement referred to is M. René Levesque, at the time Family and Social Welfare Minister. His



statements shock the casual observer in their nationalistic tone, but the reader who goes beyond the headline finds in them a strong element of the practical. On one occasion M. Levesque perhaps summed up the mixed role that the Quebec government seems destined to play in the economic development of the province. In an interview with Jean-Marc Léger of Le Devoir, M. Levesque is reported as saying: "Our principal 'capitalist' for the moment--and for as far into the future as we can see--must therefore be the State. It must be more than a participant in the economic development and emancipation of Quebec, it must be a creative agent."<sup>85</sup>

Outside Quebec that statement may sound like socialist propaganda. Inside Quebec it means precisely what it says, that the state will be a capitalist in spirit, like all the private companies already in operation in the province.

#### CONCLUSION

Nowhere does one feel the general ebullience of the economy quite so much as at Baie-Comeau, some 260 miles east of Quebec City on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. With a population of about twenty thousand (including the twin town of Hauterive), Baie-Comeau is the only settlement of significant size on the North Shore east of Quebec City, although Sept-Iles, 150 miles further downstream, is developing now as a port for the new iron developments in eastern Quebec. According to the

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<sup>85</sup>M. Oliver and F. Scott, (editors), Quebec States Her Case, (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1964), p. 136





mayor, by the summer of 1965, Baie-Comeau had almost doubled its population in about seven years. Certainly it has more than doubled in the ten year period from 1956.

The mayor insists that this is not just a boom period resulting from the nearby development of the Manicouagan-Outardes hydro-electric project, but a permanent growth based on the three major economic activities: pulp and paper mill, aluminum plant, and the all-year port. The natural deep harbour provides a meeting place for lakers and ocean going vessels, thus adding to the expansion of the other two major industries to create a very favourable economic position.

The activity is obvious in the busy stores and two main streets of the town, as well as in the bustling lives of the people. A car more than three years old is an exception; yet the one major body shop was working on a three shift basis, with some work even on Saturday and Sunday. The number of vehicles, as well as the amount of coming and going, is reflected in this operation; so is the fact that automobile insurance rates are unbelievably high as compared with those in the west. An insurance adjuster reported paying \$750 for less coverage than he had purchased a year earlier in Ottawa for \$225. These figures represent something other than just the busy nature of the area, but that will be discussed elsewhere.

Much has been said and written about Quebec's backwardness in economic development. A recurrent theme in research on the subject is the comparison of Quebec's industrialization with that of Ontario. Most



writers come to the conclusion that the difference is to be explained by cultural factors, and certainly this seems to have had a bearing on the matter, as will be seen from the discussion of the French-Canadian attitude towards business. The acceptance of the policy of agricultural expansion coincided with the traditional philosophy of the superiority of the rural way of life, and this, too, is given as a reason for the lack of industrial expansion. One factor that seems to have been too frequently glossed over is that the major industrial expansion on the North American continent in the late nineteenth century was based largely on two natural resources: coal and iron. Quebec has no coal, and the discovery and development of iron ore deposits have taken place in comparatively recent years.

Thus there was no opportunity for industrial expansion until the development of hydro-electricity as a substitute source for power, elsewhere derived from coal. Since that time industrial expansion has taken place, with an accelerated pace during the decade starting with World War II and again since 1960.<sup>86</sup> Nowadays it can be said that the Quebec economy includes almost all industrial and commercial aspects of a north American state in full progress.<sup>87</sup> "Not a single north American region offers a more promising future. The riches to be found

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<sup>86</sup> Faucher, Albert and Maurice Lamontagne, "History of Industrial Development", in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, (editors), French-Canadian Society, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), Vol 1. pp. 257-264.

<sup>87</sup> Harvey, op. cit., p. 147





there have hardly been touched. A whole people at work is in the process of revealing them to the world."<sup>88</sup>

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Ibid., p. 128 (see appendix)



### CHAPTER III

#### THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC

A complete description of the people of Quebec is beyond the intended scope of this chapter. Instead, the writer has selected certain topics which seem particularly important or particularly interesting. Thus there appear some major historical facts, and certain attitudes related to them. Some social and cultural patterns are described, and variations within the patterns are reported.

The past and the present are considered in an attempt to show how current conditions or trends relate to traditional ties. In this regard, family life, rural-urban development, and business attitudes are noteworthy examples. Current problems, such as the need for technical personnel, and the place of the French language were found to be subjects frequently discussed in Quebec.

In general, topics were selected because they were frequently raised in conversation by people in Quebec. The writer then sought out explanations and descriptions from the many sources available. This process led to the conviction that one characteristic of the Quebecois is his marked tendency towards self-analysis and that, far more than other Canadians, he is likely to have the results of his self-analysis published in newspaper, periodical or book.





## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One of the greatest problems for the English speaking Canadian in his "dialogue" with his French speaking compatriots is that he is expected to be as well versed in Canadian history, particularly as it pertains to Quebec, as is his French speaking partner. References to the "Cession", the "separate school question", and the "Toronto affair" are made on the assumption that he will know and react to them. These are facts as commonly well-known in Quebec by those who have graduated from high school as are the dates of the Quebec Act, the Constitution Act, and the B.N.A. Act to Alberta students preparing for the grade nine Departmental Examinations. In Quebec the high school graduate knows not only the dates, but the terms of the Acts, and has become familiar with much of the debate that preceded and followed them.

This condition reflects one of the reasons for comparing the history of Quebec up to 1960 to a period of winter.<sup>1</sup> During this time the people of Quebec have nourished themselves on the facts of their history, their previous achievements, and losses.

A tourist attraction in Quebec City, disturbing to an English speaking Canadian unfamiliar with Canadian history, is a visit to Le Musée du Fort. Here two young men have displayed, with ingenious use

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<sup>1</sup>Michel Bernard, Le Québec Change de Visage, (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1964). The author states that the people of Quebec after 200 years of concentration on survival as a group, now feel a spring-like awakening. This awakening is to be seen in their active participation particularly in political and economic affairs.





of small electric lights, the story of the many battles which led up to the one episode commonly known to the English speaking Canadian, the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. The principal facts are familiar, but the unfamiliar details included lead to an interpretation which can only create admiration and sympathy for the defeated French.

Since the Cession. What are some of the other dominant facts of history to be made familiar if the people of this former French colony are to be understood? In the period immediately following 1763, the French Canadian had to face a policy of assimilation. English immigrants, legislature, administration, and restrictions in the practice of his religion, (as indeed there were restrictions on Roman Catholics in Britain itself), were pressures which he was determined to resist. This period would have been even more severe had it not been for the well meaning and sympathetic attitude of the two governors, Murray and Carleton.<sup>2</sup>

The Quebec Act of 1774 restored many of the rights lost in the Treaty of Paris, particularly in religion and civil law, but alienated the English merchants of the colony who had hoped for an elected assembly. Approached by these merchants, some rebelling American colonists invaded Canada in 1775, but were held off at Quebec. This struggle was one of the earliest manifestations of a division among the French, for they were to be found on both sides.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Perspectives d'Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 79

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.





With the influx of Loyalists after the independence of the American colonies, it became necessary to modify the Quebec Act to make the law more suitable for people used to English law and customs. By the Constitution Act of 1791, Quebec was, therefore, separated into Upper and Lower Canada, according to the dominance of English or French inhabitants. Each colony was accorded an elected legislative assembly, and an appointed legislative council and executive council. The difficulties encountered by the elected assembly of Lower Canada in the face of the English domination of the Council gave rise to electoral campaigns based on a "nationalist" theme. By 1837, this led to open revolt by the French, a revolt which was put down with severe reprisals. Similar revolts in Upper Canada by English speaking Canadians led to Lord Durham's investigation and report, which resulted in the Act of Union of 1840.<sup>4</sup>

The elected assembly of the newly united colony was composed of an equal number of representatives from each of the two parts, in spite of the inequality of populations (Lower Canada 650,000; Upper 450,000).<sup>5</sup> French Canadians objected to this inequality of representation, an inequality aggravated by the exclusive use of English in the Assembly during the first eight years of its existence. They objected also to charging the entire colony with the debt for extensive public works in the former English speaking

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 80



Upper Canada. A series of unstable governments and the increase in numbers and wealth of Upper Canada created tensions which led eventually to Confederation in 1867.<sup>6</sup>

Resultant Attitudes. In these early experiences with a democratic system of government, French Canadians saw little advantage for themselves as a minority group in number, affluence and power.<sup>7</sup>

Lack of confidence in the democratic process has continued within the framework of Confederation, which the French Canadian believes should be an agreement between two equal partners, but in which he has always had but a minority voice. He has seen the loss of the right to educate his children in his own language, originally accorded in the provinces of Manitoba and Ontario (the separate school question). He has been unable to obtain those rights in other provinces. By contrast he sees a flourishing English Protestant school system in Quebec. He has twice been forced into military service after receiving assurances that this would not happen.<sup>8</sup> He has experienced hostility from English speaking groups towards the extension of services to French speaking Canadians outside the province. For example, the "Toronto affair" refers to the rejection by the Board of Broadcast Governors of an application

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "Some Obstacles to Democracy in Quebec", Mason Wade, editor, Canadian Dualism/La Dualité Canadienne, (Toronto/Quebec: The University of Toronto/Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), pp. 241-259

<sup>8</sup>Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1945, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956), pp. 751 and 947





for a French language radio station in that city some years ago. Many French-Canadians are convinced that the rejection was the result of opposition by English speaking people. In the armed services and the civil service the French-Canadian has felt himself in the position of a second class citizen, unable to conduct his affairs in his own language in spite of what he interprets as constitutional guarantees.<sup>9</sup>

The cession of New France to England created in French-Canadians the feeling of being a defeated people. Many French-Canadians have been conscious of the resultant attitude, which they are now determined to change to one of equality with their former conquerors. That the achievement of General Wolfe at Quebec has been considered a military error which led to the prolongation of the war, and was not in fact, its end,<sup>10</sup> is little known, and brings no consolation to the French-Canadian anyway.

Throughout the whole of the period since 1763, the French-Canadian has felt himself exploited in the economy of the province because trade passed into the hands of English speaking people; and industry, when it arrived, was financed by English speaking people, whatever their place of origin. In the last few years, economic activity has occurred which gives the Quebecois the feeling of participation in the development of his province, a feeling which is said to represent the emergence from

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 751 fwd. and 947 fwd.

<sup>10</sup> William Wood, Unique Québec, (Quebec: Literary and Historical Society, 1924).



a winter period.

Behind the French-Canadian interpretation of the British North America Act is the knowledge of 150 years of French colonization of the continent before the cession to England in 1763. French colonists fought with, traded with, converted, and largely pacified the Indians; they extended European control as far south as New Orleans; French coureurs de bois were with MacKenzie when he first sighted the Pacific.<sup>11</sup> The provincial motto "Je Me Souviens" (I remember) takes this proud period into account along with the 200 years which have followed.

The new Quebec is, psychologically at least, more akin to the New France of the early days than to the Quebec of the more recent past. With its sudden release of energies and acceptance of change and experiment, it has more in common with the colony that was the stage for exploits of the coureurs de bois and the explorers than it has with the ingrown, tradition-bound Quebec of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries...<sup>12</sup>

#### CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VARIATIONS

"Traditional" Quebec. The "ingrown, tradition-bound Quebec" here pictured is the Quebec thought of by many Canadians outside the province. Solange Chaput-Rolland gives the following example to illustrate this claim.

When one of your (English-Canadian) people talks about us, the ironical phrase 'priest-ridden' crops up very often. For English-Canadians, or at least for those I know fairly well, we are all more or less under the thumb of Monsieur le Curé and we spend

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<sup>11</sup>For a fuller treatment see George F.G. Stanley, "French and English in Western Canada" in Wade, op. cit., pp. 331 ff.

<sup>12</sup>Thomas Sloan, Quebec, The Not-So Quiet Revolution, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), p. ix.





most of our time reciting paternosters.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Gérard Pelletier, editor of La Presse, was told, "that when Quebecers became really accustomed to city life and modern thinking, then Canadian divisions would finally end. In other words Quebecers were still backwoodsmen..."<sup>14</sup> To understand the foundation for these concepts a review of the cultural and social development of the province is needed.

In a collection of studies about Quebec,<sup>15</sup> written in English, the editors note particularly the necessity of distinguishing between the cultural values of the people and the organization of the society, and of recognizing the influence of the one on the other. An example of the relationship between the two aspects (cultural and social) is seen in the culturally traditional large family and the social system of land use and settlement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

For all colonists, the first task is to gain a living. In New France, this was achieved for the vast majority by settling on the land, clearing it, and raising cattle and crops. Each family thus became a

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<sup>13</sup>Gwetholyn Graham and Solange Chaput-Rolland, Dear Enemies, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1964), pp. 21, 22.

<sup>14</sup>Michael Oliver and Frank Scott, editors, Quebec States Her Case, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1964), p.2.

<sup>15</sup>Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, editors, French-Canadian Society, Vol. 1, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964). A general indebtedness to the various studies in this collection is acknowledged, particularly for material which is generally familiar, but is here ordered and organized into a pattern which was found most helpful in understanding French-Canada.





self-sufficient unit. Since land was for some time plentiful and people were few, it was no hard task to find more land for the sons of the family. Moreover, a number of sons with their own farms ensured parents that there would be someone to care for them when they were beyond the age when they could work themselves.

This development occurred within the social framework of the rang, (row) the parish and the village. (With industrial development this order was frequently dislocated, the industrial plant and the village preceding the parish organization.) The rang was the organization of river lots side by side, a division which can still be seen on the Isle of Orleans and along the neighbouring shores of the St. Lawrence.<sup>16</sup> The lot was usually some 200 metres wide and often of unspecified depth. Once river lots were filled, a second or even third rang would be opened with common frontage on a road instead of on the river. It is interesting to note in passing that the concentration of dwellings in this old system of land settlement is particularly well-suited to modern needs such as mail delivery, roads, and the supplying of electricity and other services.

The organization of land division was based on the feudal system of France, but without its political implications, for the seigneur, having little political power, was really no more than a land agent. A letter dated 1684 clearly recognizes this difference from continental France.

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<sup>16</sup> In spite of development in recent years, traces of this organization can still be seen on the north banks of the Sturgeon River in St. Albert, Alberta, originally a French settlement.





In earnest, Sir, the Boors of those Manors live with more ease and conveniency, than an infinity of the Gentlemen in France. I am out indeed in calling them boors,...whether it be that they pay no taxes, and injoy the liberty of hunting and fishing; or that the easiness of their life, puts 'em upon a level with the Nobility.<sup>17</sup>

It can be well imagined how much "easiness" there was in the life of the people, but one can be sure that they were not serfs or slaves to an overlord.

This difference from feudal France brought about another characteristic which is reflected in both the social and cultural aspects of the society. In the absence of a powerful figure in the seigneur, the role of leader was soon accorded to the curé. Not only was the colony Catholic by law (it was intended to be a settlement of the "faithful" only, a bulwark of the faith in the western world), but the curé was in almost all cases one of the few educated people in the community and hence a "natural" leader. After the cession, when many of the noblemen returned to France, he was most frequently the only educated person, or shared the distinction with the local British military commander. In the latter circumstances it would be unthinkable for the people not to turn to their own curé for leadership.

In this social context, the colonist received his first experience in control of community affairs, using the word community merely to describe the situation as it existed, not in its modern and frequently

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<sup>17</sup> Letter of Baron de Lahontan, in D.C. Masters, A Short History of Canada, (Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1958), pp. 94, 95





urban sense. During this period there was no municipal organization, so that the parish, once developed, became the centre of activity. The election of a churchwarden to the "Fabrique",<sup>18</sup> "became not only a mark of social status, but also gave rise to conflicts reminiscent of political elections".<sup>19</sup>

Variations Within the Patterns. The role of the church in Quebec has been of such importance that a later chapter is reserved for its treatment. The interrelationship of culture and society requires some mention of it at this point. It must be noted that though what has so far been described may support the claim that Quebec is "priest-ridden", there has always been some anti-clericism. In recent years, particularly since the second world war, very significant changes have taken place in the authority of the church, and in the attitude of many people towards the church.

Whether the Quebecker is still a "backwoodsman" is a questionable opinion. In fact, it has been suggested that Quebec never has had a "rural" culture or society. "Rural French Canada took its culture, as well as its social institutions from the towns, and created little of itself."<sup>20</sup> This claim is disputed by other sociologists. Yet it seems to

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<sup>18</sup>The "Fabrique" is the council which owns church property and conducts the business affairs of the church. It is made up of elected laymen and the priest as chairman.

<sup>19</sup>Philippe Garigue, "Change and Continuity in Rural French Canada", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>20</sup>Garigue, op. cit., p. 135





be agreed that very early there developed a "homogeneity of values, of ideology and of world view" which has remained until very recently.<sup>21</sup>

One of the problems in understanding Quebec is that in spite of this homogeneity there has always been variation from the standard. Moreover, the variation has been ill-defined consciously or sub-consciously. It is reflected in the early days in the character of the coureur de bois as opposed to the habitant. The former has "never been described as a family man, nor as a highly religious one; history rather depicts him as a smooth operator, not very reliable and with few moral scruples".<sup>22</sup> By contrast, in the colonial settlement the values of "frugality, hard work, stability, and the creation of a domestic economy were crucial to survival and growth".<sup>23</sup>

The homogeneous group in the nineteenth century comprised the members of the stable rural and urban population. Yet, from among them, many migrated to the U.S., to western Canada and to northern areas in Quebec. Those who established themselves in western Canada, and, for example, in the Lac St. Jean region of Quebec displayed, and in fact, often continue to display the independent, aggressive qualities commonly associated with the "pioneer spirit". In Quebec, the people of Lac St.

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<sup>21</sup> Marcel Rioux, "Remarks on the Socio-Cultural Development of French-Canada", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 174

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Guindon, "The Social Evolution of Quebec Reconsidered", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 141

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.





Jean are renowned for such qualities, as evidenced by this report under the headline, "Kingdom' Farmers Fight Again".

The irrepressible Lac St. Jean region of the "Kingdom of the Saguenay" have done it again, but good.

To protest the failure of the provincial government to give them the \$5 million compensation demanded for crop losses, the farmers...are celebrating the Labour Day weekend by turning the area into one big traffic jam...by driving tractors and trucks at crawl speeds.

The chaos on the highways is right in line with the individualistic and rebellious tradition of this corner of Quebec.<sup>24</sup>

The article mentions other manifestations of this spirit: the "wildest" regional meeting of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism at Chicoutimi, the election of federal Social Credit deputies in 1962 and 1963, and a petition signed by 60,000 housewives against rainmaking operations sponsored by the forest industry in the area.

In his electoral campaign in 1966, Mr. Daniel Johnson of the Union Nationale, recognized the nature and importance of the group, appealing to them directly by saying that farmers would no longer have any reason to march on Quebec (city) or block the roads to obtain a little justice.<sup>25</sup>

During my stay in this region, I spent several evenings in the home of a retired farmer-wood contractor. In conversation which ran the gamut of religion, politics, economics, provincial and federal affairs, a friendly, inquisitive and challenging spirit was shown. There was little to support the idea that this man or his neighbours were "dominated" by anyone, or that they were unaware of what was going on outside their own "restricted" world.

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<sup>24</sup>Jim Creery, Edmonton Journal, 4 Sept. 1965, p. 1

<sup>25</sup>Le Soleil, Quebec, 24 May, 1966, p. 2





Urban and Rural Values. Those who emigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century, (the number has been estimated at one million French-Canadians) adapted themselves in the main to urban industrial conditions in that area, as, it seems, have three-quarters of the people of Quebec. Nevertheless, the "traditional" values of land, religion and nationalism continue, as evidenced by the following extract quoted in a study by Dumont and Rocher.

By tradition, vocation as well as by necessity, we are a people of peasants. Everything that takes us away from the land diminishes and weakens us as a people and encourages cross-breeding, duplicity and treason.<sup>26</sup>

Of this quotation the authors write, "One can imagine the reaction of a present-day worker on reading the...extract...." Such accusations pose a problem difficult for the urban worker to resolve as he considers his life in relation to the traditional ideal.

The same plurality of values is expressed by another writer, generally of novels, but this time describing his province. "In spite of everything, the habitants who have remained faithful to the land know the townsfolk envy their lot during the heat of summer."<sup>27</sup> Of these townsfolk he adds later:

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<sup>26</sup>Richard Ares, s.j., Notre Question Nationale, Montreal: Editions de l'Action Nationale, 1943, ch. 1, 225, in Fernand Dumont and Guy Rocher, "An Introduction to a Sociology of French-Canada," in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 183.

<sup>27</sup>Jean-Charles Harvey, Visages du Québec, (Montreal: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1964), p. 61





... Quebec has stopped being an agricultural and rural country. The urban population weighs down the balance by far; but our middle class, almost all of peasant origin, ... has inherited from this past, some of those virtues of endurance and know-how which explain perhaps what is conveniently called the French-Canadian miracle. (that is, survival as a group).<sup>28</sup>

The foundation for the sociologists' disagreement has perhaps been caught by the novelist, who sees the close ties between rural and urban people. The ties extend to accepted beliefs as well as ways of thinking and behaving, in spite of the physical difference of living in a town rather than in the country. It seems probable that the existence of such ties is not peculiar to Quebec. Is it not likely that the visitor from a large overseas metropolis who described Edmonton as the biggest small town he had ever seen was striking at the same idea?

People in the metropolitan centres, however, seem to distinguish themselves from rural and other urban groups. The concept of urbanism, for them at least, has been extended to what might be called "metropolitanism". The following story illustrates the idea. A Montreal visitor in Quebec City told a Quebec acquaintance he was going "en ville" (to town) for the week-end, meaning, of course, to Montreal. The Quebecker, somewhat annoyed, asked him if he did not feel he was in "town" when he was in Quebec. The explanation was a little difficult for the Montrealer. Discussing the incident later, he told of the following distinction made by many Montrealers. "Au coin" (to the corner) is used to mean the centre of the village where he has his summer cottage, "au

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 97 (see appendix)





"village" (to the village) refers to a trip to nearby St. Jérôme (population 20 to 30,000), and "en ville" means to Montreal.

The notion may hurt the pride of Canadian town and city dwellers outside Montreal, but it seems that the Montrealer has developed a distinction similar to that which is made by many English people in reference to London. To go "up to town" means to go to London, even for people who live in towns and cities at some distance from the capital. If the distinction is valid, then there may be a common quality shared by rural and urban communities outside the great centres. The term "provincialism" may have some reference to the common quality, but it is usually used in a derogatory sense. It excludes the positive qualities Harvey mentions, endurance and know-how. To these might be added independence and a cooperative spirit, qualities frequently attributed to the rural inhabitant of Quebec as elsewhere.

Even if a distinction between the metropolitan area and the rest of the province is developing, it is still true that there is a marked continuity of values between rural and urban communities. One investigator reports, "During the period of field research few cultural traits were encountered in the communities visited which were not shared with French-Canadian towns." <sup>29</sup> It seems likely that the family is a major influence in this continuity of values, for the same investigator reports of a Montreal study that all informants named both rural and urban relatives. Moreover, one important characteristic of the family





is that it maintains its links and contacts although it may be separated  
by the emigration of some of its members.<sup>30</sup>

Family Life and Values. Large families, common in the new colony, were encouraged after the conquest by nationalists who preached la revanche du berceau (the revenge of the cradle) as a means of combatting assimilation in the face of a pro-British immigration policy.<sup>31</sup> The frequency of repetition of family names in Quebec, and the fact that the population growth is almost completely the result of natural growth, not immigration, indicates that the tradition has indeed been maintained. One author reports that certain companions of Champlain, from Perche, have today more than 10,000 direct descendants.<sup>32</sup>

Here again, however, there is a change in the cultural patterns which has not perhaps been fully recognized by Canadians outside Quebec. As early as 1938 it was reported that the birth rate in the cities was falling rapidly.<sup>33</sup> More recently it was discovered that the birth rate in Quebec is lower than that in any other Canadian province.<sup>34</sup> If the family because of its self-sufficiency has been the cause of survival of the French in Canada,<sup>35</sup> then perhaps it will be necessary for the

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Philippe Garigue, "The French-Canadian Family", in Wade, op. cit., p. 194

31

Ibid., p. 200

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Bernard, op. cit., p. 55

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Horace Miner, "Changes in Rural French-Canadian Culture", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., pp. 71, 72

34

Louis Martin, C.B.C. Today's Editorial, Quebec: 3 June, 1966

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Léon Gérin, "The French-Canadian Family -- Its Strengths and Weaknesses" in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 49





nationalists to renew their propaganda efforts. The continued importance accorded to the family is illustrated by the creation in the Quebec government of a Ministry, whose objective is to take the necessary steps to help the family to play its part in society.<sup>36</sup> That this interest extends beyond the boundaries of Quebec is shown by the statement of a similarity of objectives with the Vanier Institute, which has among its aims the study of and aid to families in their social role throughout the nation.<sup>37</sup>

Among the characteristics mentioned above was the maintenance of links in spite of emigration. Incidentally, the same author observes that the migration of French-Canadians is as much a cultural trait as is geographic mobility in the United States.<sup>38</sup> Evidence was given in the study of frequent social visits to more or less nearby relatives.<sup>39</sup> One distinction noted was the organizing of family gatherings varying in size from a few hundred to thousands of persons.

In 1939, for example, the descendants of nine Frenchmen named Poulin, who had come over in the seventeenth century but who were not related, gathered for the third centenary of the arrival of the first Poulin. It is estimated that about 7,000 Poulins attended mass at Ste. Anne-de-Beaupré on that day.<sup>40</sup>

A similar gathering was announced for July, 1966 when the descendants

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Monique Brunelle, Le Soleil, Quebec, 30 May, 1966, p. 21

37

Ibid.

38

Garigue, in Wade, op. cit., pp. 195, 196

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Ibid., p. 194

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Ibid., pp. 195, 196





of René Houallet were to meet to celebrate the tercentenary of his  
<sup>41</sup>  
 arrival in New France.

Such meetings appear to be more common in French-Canada than  
 elsewhere, yet one of the organizers of the 1939 reunion was born and  
<sup>42</sup>  
 brought up in the United States. Moreover, it is my observation that  
 more North Americans seem to be concerned about knowing their family  
 tree than were people in the British Isles. It may be then, that the  
 French-Canadian is exhibiting a cultural trait which he holds in common  
 with North Americans, even if the trait appears stronger in Quebec.

By the middle of the eighteenth century there were already many  
 similarities between French-Canadian families and New England families.  
 Recent studies support the idea that they are more North American than  
<sup>43</sup>  
 European, although having a specific form of their own. One change  
 in the family structure supporting the North American likeness is that  
 "equalitarian and democratic-minded family units have substituted them-  
<sup>44</sup>  
 selves for families of the traditional, quasi-patriarchal type . . . ."

The role of the mother in the French-Canadian family is brought  
 to mind by this change in lines of authority. Until the 1964 changes  
 in Quebec civil law, women were accorded few legal rights, particularly  
 in regard to property. Their position, however, seems never to have

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<sup>41</sup>

Le Devoir, 17 June, 1966, p. 2

<sup>42</sup>

Garigue, in Wade, op. cit., p. 196

<sup>43</sup>

Ibid., pp. 184, 185

<sup>44</sup>

Jean-Charles, Falardeau, "The Changing Structures of Contemporary French Society," in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 117





been as subservient as it appeared, or as it was in France in the seventeenth century. Because of the frequency of death and long absences among men in New France, the women were often left in complete control of family affairs. Consequently, a tradition of independence, better education than the men, and self-reliance became established among the womenfolk.<sup>45</sup> In the nineteenth century, the frequent absence of men in the woods added to this tradition, and urbanization is said to have further increased the mother's influence. Because of the father's limited economic responsibilities, the mother's role tends to assume more importance.<sup>46</sup> It appears that there has always been a difference between "legal" and "real" authority.<sup>47</sup>

One influence which has affected the traditional authority pattern in recent years has been that of the Church, which "has changed from interpreting the family as a hierarchial structure . . . to presenting it as a reciprocal love among persons who have different, but not subordinated roles."<sup>48</sup> It is likely that this definition would be acceptable in most families in Canada.

One aspect of French-Canadian family life identified in the study conducted in Montreal was the presence in one household of three

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Garigue, in Wade, op. cit., pp. 184, 185

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Gerald Fortin, "Socio-Cultural Changes in an Agricultural Parish", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 94

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Gérin and Garigue, Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 42 and p. 362 respectively

48

Garigue, in Ibid., pp. 196, 197



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generations or of relatives other than the immediate family. A similar trait was observed during a tour of Quebec in the summer holidays, when I saw representatives of three generations holidaying together, or brothers and sisters, with their families, forming a holiday group. Such contacts between members of the family seem to be maintained much more regularly than in non-French-Canadian families. One young married couple, for example, drove more than a hundred miles in spite of extremely heavy and tiring traffic conditions, every weekend during the period of university summer school to visit the home of the wife's parents.

Another characteristic reported by Garigue, was the calling on family members in preference to outsiders for services of a personal or professional nature. 50 He reports that family members frequently seek the services of relatives who are lawyers, doctors, businessmen or priests. One of the priests, though he officiated frequently at baptisms, weddings and funerals, expressed some reluctance at acting as confessor.

Sociologists offer varying explanations as to why French-Canadian family life is being changed. Some attribute changes to urbanization, 51 others to a change in cultural values. However, it is agreed that family "behaviour reflects a mixture of a strict adherence to

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Philippe Garigue, "French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 367

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Ibid., p. 366

51

Ibid., p. 372





the traditional mores and of impatience to conform to exaggerated forms of emancipation".

To typify the evolution of the French-Canadian family over the last fifty years, one authority presents the following paragraph.

The daughter of Maria Chapdelaine, who was an ammunition factory worker at Valcartier during the war, now lives with her own family of five children in the Rosemont ward of Montreal. Maria's married brothers are employees of the Aluminum Company at Arvida and Shipshaw after having been workers at the Jonqui re pulp plant. This fictitious epilogue to Louis H mon's classic story on French-Canadian family life on the frontier corresponds to thousands of actual histories.<sup>53</sup>

In spite of changes in family life in Quebec and its many similarities to other North-American family institutions, it can be seen that the Quebec family still has some particular characteristics. Among the most important is the awareness of being the means of French survival to date, the "thread which links all the various aspects of the French-Canadian culture and social life..."<sup>54</sup>

Old and New Elites. An undisputed part of the French-Canadian value structure has been the high social status accorded to the priest. Some basis for this attitude was given earlier. Following close in the hierarchy were the other traditional professions of law and medicine. Law apparently was a good training ground for politicians, who also acquired high social status. Next to these professions came proprietors of businesses and successful farms. Members of this elite group were

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<sup>52</sup> Falardeau, in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 116

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 115

<sup>54</sup> Garigue, in Wade, op. cit., p. 200



proponents of a cultural nationalism and were thus a strong force in the  
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 struggle for survival.

A second elite has been those who, through contact with the English speaking group, became intermediaries between the French and English. Generally people with a high degree of competence themselves, they have tended to see the problem of Anglo-French relations in terms of the personal competence of each individual case. Their nationalism has tended towards support of the federal system because of the existence of  
 56  
 French speaking people outside Quebec, whose rights seem more likely to be supported by government at the federal level.

These two groups have represented the two methods proposed since the conquest of achieving survival of the race: development of the French in isolation as a separate group, and cooperation with Anglo-Saxons of goodwill.  
 57  
 The latter group has continually been open to the criticism of some Quebeckers of having "gone English". Nonetheless, a former federal government cabinet minister, Mr. Lesage, was premier of Quebec between 1960 and 1966, and many former federal civil servants are now active in the Quebec civil service.

Beside these two traditional French-Canadian elites another group has appeared, particularly since the end of the second world war.

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Philippe Garigue, "Pour le Québec, Un Impératif: le Développement.", Le Devoir, Montreal, 15 June, 1966

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Ibid.

57

Masters, op. cit., p. 30





Here are found the leaders of the trade union movement,<sup>58</sup> with whom  
 can be included the leaders of the cooperative movement, of which<sup>59</sup>  
 the credit union organization is a senior partner. Because the  
 majority of workers are French-Canadian, the trade union movement  
 has a tendency always of becoming nationalist, but not in the sense  
 represented by either of the first two groups of elites. Their  
 nationalism is inclined to reject both the cultural and political  
 forms because their interest is in transforming Quebec by the<sup>60</sup>  
 improvement of living conditions.

The most recently recognized elite, dating mainly from 1960,  
 is made up of administrators, specialists and research workers  
 grouped under the term technocrates, many of whom are to be found  
 in the provincial civil service, (where they have been nicknamed<sup>61</sup>  
 the "Mafia"). This group of highly trained specialists, rejecting  
 the ideological aspects of relations between the two ethnic groups,  
 seeks solutions on the basis of recognized data which will be

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Garigue, op. cit.

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Fernand Dumont, "l'Etude Systématique De La Société Globale Canadienne-Française", in Fernand Dumont and Yves Martin, editors, Situation de la recherche sur le Canada français, (Quebec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1962), p. 292

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Garigue, op. cit.

61

Peter Desbarats, The State of Quebec, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 106



effective in the total situation.

With these additions to the influential groups in the province, it appears obvious that no solution to the social problems, or plan for the development of the province will be effective if it ignores or fails to use the contribution of any one of the groups.<sup>63</sup>

Recognition of these new elites by sociologists does not necessarily mean that they have also been recognized and accepted by the majority of people in the province. Their existence represents another need for change in the "traditional" values, one more cause for tension in a changing and developing society.

#### PEOPLE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Need for Technical Personnel. The emergence of the two more recent groups among the elites in Quebec brings to light the problem of the need for technical and professional personnel. The most common reason given for the existence of the shortage is the education system, which has tended to concentrate on the humanities rather than on technical studies. The lack of opportunity of employment for such personnel has also been a factor, however, "An assistant deputy minister claimed that seven-eighths of his 1946 graduating class of economists at Laval University went to work outside the province."<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Garigue, op. cit.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Desbarats, op. cit., pp. 112, 113.





The hydro-electric development Manic-Outardes illustrates both the problem and current trends towards a solution. The design of the Manicouagan V dam was the work of a French engineer, and the participation of French personnel in the work is "not to be neglected".<sup>65</sup> However, 225 of the 300 engineers engaged in the project are French-Canadians.<sup>66</sup> An English speaking engineer from Saskatchewan working among this group claimed that in the ten years preceding 1965, membership of French-Canadians in the Quebec professional engineers association had more than doubled. Desbarats reports:

In other areas the problem is still acute. In the Department of Industry and Commerce, a civil servant said that the \$15,000 a year position of director of the Bureau of Statistics had been open for eighteen months and still no acceptable candidate was in sight.

"There's a terrific shortage of economicists, sociologists, and demographers with five or six years' experience," he said.

"We don't have any problem picking up men fresh out of university but there's no one for them to work under."<sup>67</sup>

One other situation resulting from the shortage of trained personnel causes some amusement in Quebec. It is illustrated by the following quotation from Desbarats:

There has been such a dire need for technical studies in many areas that professors have done a land-office business hiring out their talents to the highest bidders. A number of professors now earn more from this "free-lance" work than from their university

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<sup>65</sup>"Le Québec", Perspective d'Outre-Mer, (Monaco: Editions Paul Bory, January-February, 1964), special number, p. 129

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Desbarats, op. cit., p. 113



jobs. Estimates of total annual incomes for top French-Canadian sociologists and economists on the faculties of universities range up to \$50,000.<sup>68</sup>

The effect of such activity on the work of the university, both on its staff and students has yet to be assessed. Coupled with the loss of teaching personnel to civil service positions,<sup>69</sup> and the ever increasing number of students, it must be creating a serious strain.

Among the experienced technical personnel are a number of former federal civil service employees who have returned to Quebec to provide leadership in a changed and constantly changing society. The atmosphere of political liberty and developing economy provides more varied and creative activity, a challenge which many have accepted, in spite of a substantial decrease in income in several instances known to the writer. There is another influence which has been expressed variously as, "I feel at home here in Quebec", or "I don't have to leave my language at home in the morning". It is very tiring to work in a language which is not native, and it is in his daily work that the French-Canadian most acutely feels the problem.

Language Problems. There is a close psychological, or emotional relationship between the feeling of "belonging", and the use of the mother tongue. I was able to identify my feelings with those of Quebecers who had worked or visited outside the province. There is a commonality

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 114

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.





of ways of thinking and feeling, of common background which do not exist outside the language group. As a speaker of "English" English I often find myself in sympathy with the Quebecker, for I have occasionally felt like a stranger in English speaking Canada, even though, in a broad sense, my mother tongue is that of English speaking Canadians.

The position of the French language in Canada and in Quebec has for a long time been a cause of tension, at both the personal and group level among French-Canadians. "Under the B.N.A. Act French and bilingualism are explicitly limited to Quebec and to offices of the federal government. The sole protection for minorities is that afforded the English in Quebec."<sup>70</sup>

In Alberta, only 43,000 of the 83,000 people whose origin is French report French as their mother tongue.<sup>71</sup> Many French-Canadians in Quebec, confronted with such facts, resent, as a group, the pressures which have caused this loss of language. The feeling is aggravated when they encounter English speaking Quebeckers who have found learning French unnecessary.

On the level of personal use, English had been commonly acknowledged as the working language in Quebec at all levels beyond unskilled occupations. Occupational studies bear out the truth of the claim,<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Sloan, op. cit., p. 109

<sup>71</sup>Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1, part 3, pp. 121-23

<sup>72</sup>Nathan Keyfitz, "Some Demographic Aspects of French-English Relations in Canada", Wade, op. cit., p. 127 ff.



although there are indications that changes are being made. Among other examples reported is that of an English speaking businessman who claimed that he began grooming French-Canadians for senior positions in 1940 despite opposition from his associates. He is well pleased with the results, and contrasts this with another of his companies which has not adopted the policy and is now "being licked left and right by the French-Canadian competition".<sup>73</sup>

The attitude of many English speaking Canadians towards Canadian French as a language is not easy to understand. It is, however, so dominant that French-Canadians both inside and outside Quebec have apologized for their "poor French". As an example, consider the English speaking Canadian who asked me what French I was teaching her children. At my refusal to understand her question, she finally burst out, "You know what I mean, French French or Canadian French". This experience was repeated several times in the space of a few weeks until the counter-question was asked, "What language do you speak, English English or Canadian English?" Perhaps if more Canadians of both tongues recognized that not only their language but many other aspects of their way of living are distinct from their European origin, there would be a greater feeling of unity.

Because English makes a continuous impact in business, advertising and labelling on frequently used products and household appliances, many

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<sup>73</sup>Desbarats, op. cit., pp. 47, 48





French-Canadians are consciously struggling to maintain a "pure" French. The government maintains a department whose function is to provide standards of good usage and to aid in disseminating information to help to restore French terms to the work world.

One example of this constant conflict not to become anglicized will make it obvious. In a conversation in French a Quebecker said that he must "checker le parking". At the comment that that kind of French was easy to understand, he corrected himself to "vérifier le stationnement".

Whether this "Franglais", as it is often called, can be avoided in a predominantly English speaking continent is very doubtful. One can offer to French-Canadians the example of both continental French and British English, both of which have changed considerably since the days of such great literary exponents as Molière and Shakespeare. English was, in fact, socially a second class language for a long period after 1066, yet it has survived as an individual language. The Quebecker acknowledges the facts, but feels pessimistic about the future because the influences in the present age are so many and so insistent. Some are therefore urging a legal declaration of a unilingual Quebec, or at least the legal priority of French in Quebec. This compromise was suggested because, "the important thing is not to fall into the same excesses of absolutism that one meets elsewhere in Canada".<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Mgr. Paul-Emile Gosselin, Le Soleil, Quebec, 18 June, 1966, p. 8



Business Attitudes. The experience of the Montreal businessman who has consciously worked towards establishing French-Canadians in senior positions raises another aspect of the plurality of values among the people of Quebec. The successful experience of this man shows conclusively that there is nothing in the education system or the traditional cultural values to prevent at least some French-Canadians from being highly successful in business, given the opportunity. One study centres on the many examples of French-Canadian businessmen who for a variety of reasons have no wish to expand their business beyond the level at which they as individuals can maintain personal control.<sup>75</sup> Another sociologist suggests that this might be interpreted "as a collection of introverted and passive attitudes developed in the face of an alien cultural and linguistic world...."<sup>76</sup>

Examples of successful experiences such as that of the Montreal businessman tend to support the latter interpretation, but it is still true that the "rich" habitant, like his forebears from northern France, is still known for his "woolen sock" mentality. In other words, he would rather keep his money in a woolen sock than trust it to an anonymous organization like a bank. Little might one expect to find an

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<sup>75</sup> Norman W. Taylor, "the French-Canadian Industrial Entrepreneur and His Social Development", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., pp. 271-295

<sup>76</sup> Guy Rocher, "Research on Occupations and Social Stratification", in ibid., p. 336





illustration so literally fitting as the following:

Great agitation at Jonqui re, where everyone is wondering about the source of an amount of \$30,000 (300 bills of \$100, all new) found, Wednesday, by a citizen of this town, in front of the bus terminus . . . in a woolen sock.

Yesterday at noon, the Honorable Judge Toussaint McNicoll presented himself at the Jonqui re police station to reclaim the money. 77

Needless to say, the incident gave rise to as much surprise and laughter among French-Canadian Quebeckers as among their English speaking counterparts.

Participation in Economic Development. It may have been true in the past that the Quebecker was not particularly interested in his economic situation, though this is doubtful. It seems fair to observe now that most French-Canadians are anxious to participate fully in the development and the enjoyment of Quebec's potential wealth. There is a plurality of values here too. As a result of studies reported in 1960 and 1961, one authority reached the conclusion that according to new norms the people were more concerned with living comfortably than with mere survival. He also reported that social stratification is no longer established according to the way money is earned but according to the way it is spent, and that an economy based on production has  
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been replaced by an economy based on consumption. Is it not justified to suggest that the latter description is applicable to Canadian society generally?

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Le Soleil, Quebec, 20 May, 1966, p. 1

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Fortin, in Rioux and Martin, op.cit., p. 99





The determination of the Quebecker to improve his lot using whatever resources are available is illustrated in a statement that the city of Sherbrooke must found its prosperity on its dynamism, and on the faculty of creation and organization of its elites and its public bodies.<sup>79</sup> Such is the temper of the people in this era of general economic expansion throughout the country.

At Val David, some forty miles north of Montreal, a former poultry farmer started, about 1961, to convert his farm from a marginal agricultural activity to an increasingly prosperous tourist service for campers and skiers. In an area said to provide the best skiing in the province, by taking advantage of new conditions, he is determined to make for himself a better material life than he has known. For him, the immediate factor is the increasing numbers of people from the Montreal area who are taking holidays or week-ends in the region. His adaptation is multiplied throughout this area by many other farmers and merchants, as can be seen by the great variety of motels, restaurants, bars, and other facilities advertising themselves on the roads leading from Montreal north in a great variety of eye-catching and often attractive ways.

It is not enough to say simply that this man was out to improve his own situation. As the quotation above made clear for the people of Sherbrooke, so he too, recognizes the importance of his own





contribution. Nowhere on the trip which formed part of the data gathering process for this study did I find service comparable to that in Quebec; and it might be added, comparisons were made with service experienced in other years and other countries.

One or two personal illustrations will perhaps serve to clarify the point. As the proprietor was helping set up my trailer, we found that my hose was too short to reach the water outlet. The proprietor immediately drove to the nearby town to buy a new hose which was long enough. A day or two later, his wife, having been kind enough to allow the use of her washing machine, actually protested when her offer to iron the clothes washed was firmly but gratefully refused.

At St. Gédéon, on Lac St. Jean, another farmer, then 73 years old told how ten years before, he had created a beach by hiring men and horses before the spring rise of water level to haul in a sandbar from the lake. Beside the beach he had developed a camp ground and trailer park. Here too, there was service far beyond the usual: fresh vegetables from the garden, eggs and milk, all available at any time of day at bargain prices, even home-made ice cream occasionally given to the children.

The fishermen's cooperative at Percé, taking advantage of the short tourist season, has established a camp and trailer park along with other tourist activities, such as fishing trips and boat tours of Bonaventure Island. Similar initiative and service is to be found anywhere that tourists travel in the province. In every case en-



countered, the principle was being followed of taking a minimum profit from the operation in order to develop further, to expand for the future. In several instances the World Exposition of 1967 was mentioned as a major factor in stimulating this expansion programme.

Cooperative Movement. While the first two examples reflect the self-help apparent among individuals, the cooperative activity of the Percé fishermen represents an organization which is important in Quebec. A report published at the time of the annual meeting of the federation of cooperatives of Quebec (Conseil de la coopération du Québec) mentions some 2,300 cooperatives with about 2,000,000 members and \$1,750,000,000 in assests.<sup>80</sup> The federation includes seven major groups of cooperatives: insurance, agriculture, fisheries and forestry, consumers' and housing cooperatives, and, the largest and most striking, the federation of credit unions (Caisses Populaires Desjardins). Its assets, built up from the modest savings of individuals account for more than half the total assets of the movement.<sup>81</sup>

Named after its founder, Alphonse Desjardins, the Caisses Populaires organization has provided an educative service in the province since 1900.<sup>82</sup> Its purpose has always been twofold: to provide credit at reasonable rates, and to educate the less wealthy in the value of savings,

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<sup>80</sup> Le Soleil, Quebec, 18 May, 1966, p. 9

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Cyrille Vaillancourt and Albert Faucher, Alphonse Desjardins, (Levis: Editions Le Quotidien, Ltée., 1950)





however small. Considering that the original deposits were as little as "ten cents or twenty-five cents, hardly more",<sup>83</sup> one can well understand that much of the work throughout the years has been accomplished by volunteers, many of them priests. Since the basis of credit was mutual confidence of the members in one another, the association has maintained the principle of being an organization of people rather than money. It has therefore been characterized by being a community organization, the community being in most instances the parish.

Because of the increase in credit buying, the organization commissioned a research project on the conditions of life, and the needs and aspirations of salaried families, the findings of which were the basis of reports and discussions at the annual meeting of 1963.<sup>84</sup> Since that time the organization has been tending toward a more liberal extension of credit to its members, but still maintaining its educative function.<sup>85</sup> Its members, for example, include some 450,000 school children with savings exceeding nine and one half million dollars.<sup>86</sup>

The cooperative movement, in conjunction with the Caisses Populaires, has constructed its own centre in Levis where workshops and training programs are organized in very attractive buildings, in some ways resembling

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 29

<sup>84</sup>81ème Congrès des Caisses Populaires Desjardins, 1963, Rapports des Commissions et du Comité des Voeux, Levis, 1963

<sup>85</sup>Le Soleil, Québec, 8 June, 1966, p. 63

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 47



those of the Banff School of Fine Arts. These activities, coupled with substantial investments in the Société Générale de Financement, make of the Caisses Populaires an important contributor to the feeling of many Quebecers that they are participating in the development of the economy.

The growth of the Caisses Populaires and the concern of its leaders during recent years over the use of credit by Quebecers might be thought of as the outcome of an old cultural value in the face of changing conditions. This spirit of cooperation was characteristic of the rang, when neighbours depended on one another in a great variety of ways. The concern over credit buying arises from the relative affluence that has developed since the second world war.

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

North-American Traits. This affluence has brought changes in the way of living which have increased the tendency to make Quebec life similar to that of the rest of the country. Few farms are to be found now which follow the old pattern of being self-sufficient. With the introduction of electricity came the same electrical appliances as in homes throughout the country.<sup>87</sup> The television set has in many cases replaced the home entertainment of previous years, just as it has elsewhere. At the same time it has brought the rural inhabitant into closer contact with his urban relatives and the rest of the world.<sup>88</sup> He has become more

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<sup>87</sup>Fortin, in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 97

<sup>88</sup>Harvey, op. cit., pp. 54, 55, et passim





mobile, more frequently spending his leisure time in the nearest town rather than in the local community or nearby village.<sup>89</sup> The same sort of changes have, of course, taken place, and earlier, in the lives of urban dwellers.

Writing of the appearance of a distinct working class, one sociologist states that their social values and patterns of action are hardly distinguishable from those of North American society, mentioning particularly their way of living, housing and recreation activities.<sup>90</sup> A French visitor to Quebec remarked on one of these aspects. After a week in Quebec City, what struck him as unusual was the number of private houses, each with its own surrounding lot, by contrast with the European style of apartments and dwellings crowded together. This same contrast can be seen in Quebec City itself between the older parts and the more modern developments which resemble the suburbs of almost any city across the country.

Another European visitor wrote that, "the west end of Montreal might be in an American metropolis, the main shopping street of Quebec City is a middle-sized American town...."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Fortin, in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 102

<sup>90</sup>J.C. Falardeau, "Les Canadiens Français et leur idéologie", in Wade, op. cit., p. 36

<sup>91</sup>"Progress in Quebec: French Canadians' Adoption of New Industries", The Times (London), 29 March 1952, quoted in J.C. Falardeau, "The Changing Social Structures of Contemporary French Canadian Society", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 111



What both these European visitors failed to realize is that Montreal and Quebec are in fact American cities, which, though their founders were French, have developed in an American milieu and have been influenced by it. Modern multi-storey buildings and shopping centres in Quebec City compare favorably in both utility and aesthetic value with any the writer has seen. For western Canadians it might be useful to compare Quebec City with Vancouver. Differences of age and earlier style of architecture exist; but the two ports with their older, cramped areas and newer developments, both shoddy and pleasantly suburban, their multi-lane and narrow streets, parks and treed areas are not altogether dissimilar.

An Unwanted Distinction. One distinction for which the Quebecker is notorious, perhaps most of all in the city of Quebec, is his driving habits. Any Quebecker questioned about it admits freely that Quebeckers are bad drivers. Facts bear this out. No one, however, seems to know why; nor does he seem to do anything about it. In 1964, with a million fewer cars and 10,000 fewer miles of road than Ontario, Quebec reported 1,581 road deaths (Ontario 1,424) and 119,777 accidents (Ontario 111,232).<sup>92</sup> Two Sherbrooke youths were convicted of travelling at speeds up to 120 miles an hour in the city in early evening heavy traffic.<sup>93</sup> Talk of a Quebec to Montreal trip in less than two hours is common. The journey is more than 150 miles. From reports of increased police activity, art-

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<sup>92</sup>La Patrie, Montreal: 12 June, 1966, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>93</sup>La Tribune, Sherbrooke: 12 August, 1965, unnumbered page.





icles and commentaries in newspapers and magazines it seems that perhaps, at last, a change is in the making.

Even on this grim subject, however, the Quebec sense of humour exerts itself. Unable to find other reasons, a columnist deduces that the automobile manufacturers are selling cars with maximum safety to the English, and the most dangerous cars to the French-Canadians. If the sabotage continues, he says, there will not be a single French-Canadian left in 2,500 years.<sup>94</sup>

Metropolitan Montreal. Until that fateful day, however, the French-Canadians continue to exist, almost six million of them, about forty percent in the greater Montreal area. Thus any attempt to describe the people of Quebec without special mention of those in Montreal would be incomplete. Perhaps in reaction to its development as a financial and business centre of English speaking interest, Montreal preserves its "attachment to tradition and the status quo, coloured with nationalism".<sup>95</sup>

Here it is that the English are concentrated, and where come the majority of other European immigrants to assimilate with the English speaking group, or like the Italians, to maintain their own cultural community. Here it is that the "English" problem is lived every day, in the "national laboratory of bilingualism and biculturalism where the

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<sup>94</sup>Guy Fournier, Quebec, Perspectives, No. 22, 28 May, 1966, p. 47

<sup>95</sup>J.C. Falardeau, "The Role and Importance of the Church in French-Canada", in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 357



two language groups are compressed into an explosive mixture".<sup>96</sup> In view of Falardeau's statement above, it is not surprising that it was from Montreal that the burst of terrorism exploded only a few years ago. In reaction to this shock, many Canadians of both tongues now recognize the need for compromise, adjustment and understanding.

The area of concentration of most foreign speaking immigrants, Montreal therefore manifests a striking cosmopolitan air. In Montreal, more than anywhere else in Canada, one hears foreign languages on the main streets. The atmosphere of bustle and urgency, the press of the crowd, are as insistent here as in London, Paris or New York. The variety of its entertainment facilities and cultural attractions, though more limited, resembles that of the other great cities. Its domination of Quebec's industrial and economic life is undisputed, and its status as financial leader in Canada is questioned only in Toronto. The impetus given by the World Exposition of 1967 only adds to this reputation.

In spite of all the attractions of Montreal, there remains the serious problem of French-English relations of which it has been said that the failure of this partnership in Montreal is at the root of the problem in Quebec and Canada.<sup>97</sup> Some progress towards the necessary solution was indicated earlier. A recent report carries an optimistic note. A reporter playing the role of tourist in Montreal asked a number of Montrealers directions to well-known places of interest. Apart from

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<sup>96</sup>Desbarats, op. cit., p. 20

<sup>97</sup>Ibid.





limited success from a taxi driver, she received negative answers from French speaking people. Only from two English speaking businessmen, in "impeccable" French only slightly coloured by their accent, did she receive accurate and detailed directions.<sup>98</sup>

Some Research Needed. Research on Quebec's many cultural and social groups remains largely to be undertaken. Studies exist in the area of occupation and ethnic origin, but little else is to be found except that various groups exist in certain localities. The Indians have largely been assimilated; the Eskimo in Northern Quebec is little known. Why immigrants assimilate to the English speaking group is a current concern, and a government department has been established to try to change this situation. The aspirations of the young people pressing at the doors of educational institutions and the business world are merely estimated from the views expressed by the outspoken. The feeling of the long established English speaking group, for whom Quebec is as much "home" as it is for French-Canadians, is assumed from the responses of a few.

"Typical" French-Canadians. As for the French-Canadians, one wonders if a general description is possible. In a rapidly changing world, they are daily facing cultural and social conflicts in an uneasy tension described as "social nervousness".<sup>99</sup> Is this any less true of

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<sup>98</sup>"Les Montréalais, des étrangers dans leur propre ville", La Patrie, Montreal, 26 June, 1966, p. 10.

<sup>99</sup>Falardeau, in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 119



Canadians in rapidly expanding areas across the country? They are a people as diverse in physical characteristics as any in the world, but in whom laughter or anger come to the surface and subside more rapidly than in their Anglo-Saxon counterparts.<sup>100</sup> With a gaiety and zest for life, they are a people for whom "Hospitality Spoken Here" is more than a slogan. The experience of this writer and his family bears out the genuine cordiality which they were accorded in city, town and country throughout Quebec.

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<sup>100</sup>Harvey, op. cit., pp. 82 ff.





## CHAPTER IV

### QUEBEC POLITICS

Political activity in Quebec must be considered in relation to the historical background. Democracy has developed and has been used in ways peculiar to the province. Political parties, both provincial and federal, in forming their policies have been forced to take into account the "nationalism" of the people of Quebec. Separatism is one manifestation of the "nationalist" feeling.

Before discussing the development and nature of politics in Quebec an attempt is made to help the English speaking Canadian understand the attitudes of French-Canadians towards politics. The reader is asked to imagine that France had elected to keep Canada as part of the peace settlement after 1760. Then he might imagine that current social, cultural and economic activities in Canada are conducted in French, except in his own province. In these circumstances, English speaking employees of most of the bigger enterprises, such as the department stores, oil companies and banks, would find themselves working in French instead of English. Married employees would be unwilling to accept promotions outside of their own province because their children would have to give up their language.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the central parliament the representatives

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<sup>1</sup>A reversal of the theme of an illustration by Jean Lesage in his tour of Western Canada, in Blair Fraser, "How Lesage Unsettled the West", Maclean's Magazine, Toronto: November 15, 1965, p. 57



of his province would be continually a minority group, seeking to preserve rights granted, and others thought to be granted, in the amalgamation of the colonies which took place a hundred years ago.

One English-Canadian perhaps represents a common reaction to this flight of imagination when he writes: "If Montcalm had won on the plains of Abraham, I would be glad if my ancestors had handed me down the French language instead of fussing with two languages."<sup>2</sup>

Although this reaction may be common, history seems to lend it little support. Many peoples have maintained their language in spite of occupation by foreign powers over more or less extended periods of time. England, India and the Ukraine are examples which come immediately to mind. Even in Canada, Indian tribes and Eskimos have retained their language in spite of great difficulties.

From the circumstances which arise from this exercise of the imagination, one can see that problems occur within the province, and between the province and the rest of the country. Political activity in Quebec, as in the other provinces, takes place in these two fields of action, the internal and external. There is frequently, however, a relationship between the two. In Quebec, this relationship has always been important.

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I.V. Macklin, Letter to the Editor, Edmonton Journal, 17 January, 1966, p. 3





## DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

It must be remembered at the outset that democracy, even in its eighteenth century form, was an alien concept to the inhabitants of Quebec in 1760. Before this time they had lived under the authoritarian rule of an administrator appointed by the king, who governed by "divine right". Their church also was authoritarian, and they had had no experience even in local public affairs.<sup>3</sup> The earliest English administration, a military organization, did nothing to change this situation, for it made use of existing authoritarian institutions to carry out its programmes. Difficulties arose not between the French-Canadians and the authorities, but rather between the English merchants and the governing bodies.<sup>4</sup>

When an elected assembly was instituted (1791), it was against the expressed desire of the French, who, having had the system forced upon them, "valued their new form of government less for its intrinsic value than as a means for their racial and religious survival".<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the real power lay in the Legislative and Executive councils, where the French were a minority--a situation which, "aggravated by

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Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "Some Obstacles to Democracy in Quebec," in M. Wade, editor, Canadian Dualism/La Dualité Canadienne, (Toronto & Quebec: University of Toronto Press, Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), p. 241

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Albert Faucher, "La Dualité Canadienne et l'économie: tendances divergentes et tendances convergentes", in Wade, op.cit., pp. 227, 228

5

Trudeau, op.cit., p. 242



governor Graig's despotic disposition, stifled what otherwise might have been a nascent belief in democracy".<sup>6</sup>

By the early 1800's the desire to survive as a group, what is called frequently "French-Canadian Nationalism", had become the dominant force in any political activity. As reported in the previous chapter, later experiences such as the loss of rights to education in their own language in both Ontario and Manitoba, the conscription issue in both world wars, and the transfer of fiscal rights to the federal government in the same periods have done little to re-kindle the potential belief in democracy which had been so quickly stifled. One of the men associated with the rebuilding of the Quebec provincial Liberal party in the nineteen fifties is reported as saying, "I am sure that the French-Canadians have believed in democracy only for the last ten years or so."<sup>7</sup>

The relative prosperity since the second World War, bringing as it did new choices for which traditional ideologies provided no answers, and thus forcing the French-Canadian to make his own decisions, may be one factor which has led to the new belief in democracy. Experience in democratic processes, gained in such organizations as the cooperative and Trade Union movements, and the emergence of new elites from these organizations seem likely to have increased accep-

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6

Ibid.

7

Peter Desbarats, The State of Quebec, (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), p. 87





tance of the democratic ideal. It is likely also that the influence of university people, developing during the thirties and forties, is another factor in this development. As one man put it, "The critics, the liberal thinkers have always been there, even during the Duplessis regime, but it takes time and the opportunity of liberty for their influence to have its effect."

Corrupt Politics. Subjects open to criticism before 1960 were the dishonesty of election practices, absolutism on the part of the party leader, and the practice of patronage of both individual and public nature. Responsible newspapers, notably Le Devoir, published articles openly critical of the Duplessis government's activities.<sup>8</sup> Following the 1956 elections, Le Devoir published a series of articles written by two priests trained in the social sciences at Laval University under Father G. Levesque, himself a severe critic of the régime. Not only did they condemn the improper practices, but also the hypocrisy of Christians, laymen or clergy, who indulged in or supported such practices.<sup>9</sup>

The English-Canadian is often hasty to condemn Quebec politics because of such abuse of the processes of democracy without recognizing first, that similar abuse of the system is not unknown elsewhere in Canada at various levels of government, and second, that since the

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Michel Bernard, Le Québec Change de Visage, (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1964), p. 85

9

Ibid., pp. 82, 83





French-Canadian had not believed in the process of democracy, there was no logical reason for him to follow its rules. In considering, for example, the prevalence of patronage a statement by Guindon is enlightening. He states that since political activity was considered essentially a local matter, the election of a deputy was considered purely on the basis of local or individual problems, and the solution of those problems governed the deputy's re-election.<sup>10</sup>

One report, in emphasizing the significance of the recent attempt to suppress patronage, points out that the practice has filled a major gap in French-Canadian social structure in that it "forms the antithesis and the substitute for real local leadership, and at the same time prevents local problems from being really integrated into . . . a global policy and a total society."<sup>11</sup>

Following an investigation into the purchasing practices of the Duplessis government, the Liberal government decided to bring suit against prominent members of the Union Nationale. The decision has been described by Sloan as both courageous, because of the implications for future governments, and perhaps unfair, "because those involved for the most part made no profit themselves and were simply

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Hubert Guindon, "The Social Evolution of Quebec Reconsidered", in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, French-Canadian Society, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), pp. 152, 153

11

Fernand Dumond and Guy Rocher, "An Introduction to a Sociology of French Canada" in Rioux and Martin, op.cit., p. 200





playing the game as it had been traditionally operated by all previous governments".<sup>12</sup>

In discussing the difference between la politique de grandeur and la petite politique, the same author reports that patronage of the collective variety continues in Quebec in spite of attempts to discontinue the practice. In many areas, such as the Gaspé, farmers and their sons depend on some sort of government work to make a living; and since a party cannot continue its major policies if it is not in power, local projects are important during election campaigns. He concludes that "it is doubtful whether the Liberals could have retained power had they not followed tradition in 1962".<sup>13</sup>

The support of the Union Nationale party in rural areas and in the poorest regions of Montreal and Quebec City in the 1966 election may, in part, be attributed to this factor. It is not expected, however, that the new Union Nationale government will revert to the previous practices, for Mr. Johnson has stated on several occasions that the government will depend on the members of the civil service, and that they need not fear changes in personnel simply because of a change in government.<sup>14</sup>

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T. S. Sloan, Quebec, The Not-So-Quiet Revolution, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965), p. 6 (emphasis not in original)

13

Ibid., pp. 12, 13

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For example, Le Soleil, Quebec 4 June, 1966, p. 1, in which after affirming the importance of the technocrats, Mr. Johnson added that one of the problems of the Liberal government was that the technocrats were better than the ministers and deputies.



Recent Changes. The development of a competent civil service marks a major change in the theory of government in Quebec, for government activity can no longer be based on the personal wishes of particular representatives or groups, but on the research, planning and recommendation with which the civil service is charged.<sup>15</sup>

The work of the civil service, particularly its research projects, also reflects another change, which has been the stated policy of the government since 1960, that is, the involvement of people in government activity. In the Gaspé region, "a semi governmental organization set up officially as a private company, but wholly dependent on the government for financial support" is a pilot project intended to be an example for other areas.<sup>16</sup>

The first task was that of establishing citizen committees which not only channelled information about the organization, but also actively participated in the surveys of all types of resources to be found in the region.<sup>17</sup> One stated aim was to "build a structure of participation".<sup>18</sup> Encouragement of wider participation in the province's affairs was part of the policy underlying the organization of the ten administrative regions and the General Finance Corporation.

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Desbarats, op.cit., pp. 121, 122

16

Ibid., pp. 117-120

17

Ibid., p. 119

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Ibid.





Teachers, officials of teacher organizations, trustees, parents and students are represented on many committees studying the proposed changes in the education system of the province. All of these activities are symptomatic of the changed attitude towards the democratic process, and no party henceforth can afford to ignore the swelling tide of interest in political affairs. It has indeed been suggested that the Liberal government's failure to keep the people fully informed of its policies was a contributing factor in its defeat in 1966.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps change is most evident in the field of economic planning. One official told me that when government representatives first approached private interests about a proposed steel complex for which the government was seeking support, no one was prepared even to consider a brief from a Quebec government source. The private investors were accustomed to doing business with the Quebec government on a personal basis, usually by direct contact with Mr. Duplessis, not with civil servants. Moreover, Quebec civil servants were thought to be unable to produce a "business-like" study that was worthy of attention. The resulting impasse was broken when the civil servants produced the studies they had prepared. A difference of opinion over a certain procedure resulted in discussions in which businessmen and government representatives for the first time found themselves talking "the same language". That language is made up of fact and practicality. A plan,

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Phil Gould, C.B.C. Today's Editorial, 6 June, 1966



however "ideologically good", would be set aside if it were found to be impractical.<sup>20</sup>

It would be inaccurate to leave the impression that these changed attitudes are coincident with the coming to power of the Liberal government in 1960. It is certainly true that many people in Quebec itself believe this to be the case. The opinion that, "Everything has changed since the Lesage government of 1960", was frequently expressed in my presence. Nevertheless, several people acclaimed their admiration for Paul Sauvé, Premier Duplessis' successor. In a discussion of the relationship between the needs of the clerical bureaucracy and the "government's own salaried middle class",<sup>21</sup> the following statement appears, "He, (Sauvé) symbolized the new deal; its vocabulary is couched in the bureaucratic concepts of competence, planning, and so on".<sup>22</sup>

#### POLITICAL PARTIES

Liberal and Union Nationale. The recent emphasis by both parties on "competence, planning, and so on" is but one of many similarities between the two long established groups. The Union Nationale party was elected in 1936 partly as a reform party in reaction to the corrupt Liberal government, just as the Liberal party was elected in

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Desbarats, op.cit., p. 123

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Guindon, in Rioux and Martin, op.cit., p. 160

22

Ibid.





1960 partly as a reaction to the corrupt Duplessis regime. Both parties have declared themselves independent of the federal parties of which they were once part, the Union Nationale from the National Conservative party in the 1930's, and the Quebec Liberals from the national group in 1964.<sup>23</sup> In their more recent successful campaigns, 1960 and 1966, both parties appealed to the more youthful, intellectual members of the electorate, and brought into their ranks well-known and respected members of this group. Both parties include influential men whose political opinions range widely from left to right, and both appear to have been successful in elections when the "nationalist" planks of their platform were stronger than those of the opposing party.

The Liberal party has traditionally been the representative of Quebec nationalism through participation in the federal government. The choice of federal political action was made towards the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the choice of Laurier as Liberal Party leader, and the handling of the Riel Rebellion and the Manitoba schools question by the Conservatives.<sup>24</sup>

The Liberal party was defeated in Quebec in 1944 as a result of conflicts over the conscription issue in the second World War, in which provincial Liberals had supported the Federal Liberal government. It has been suggested that one of the reasons for the defeat in 1966

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Sloan, op.cit., pp. 1 - 11

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Trudeau, in Wade, op.cit., p. 255



was the more obviously "Nationalist" policy of the Union Nationale party.<sup>25</sup> An editorialist reviewing all five elections since 1936 shows that the support of nationalists is important to success in provincial elections. He concludes that in the 1966 election Mr. Lesage made the same error as the husband too sure of himself. His wife left him anyway.<sup>26</sup>

Distinctions between the two parties do exist, however. The Union Nationale, previously Conservative in name as well as in policy, tends to be supported by the agricultural population and the unorganized working class. The Liberals, in contrast, draw their major support from the bourgeois urban groups, intellectuals and organized labour. The Union Nationale tends more than the Liberal party, to mould itself on the pattern set by its leader.<sup>27</sup> After the 1966 election, several commentators remarked that Mr. Lesage had conducted a one-man campaign, an allegation which he denied; however, the impression may have been a contributing factor in the defeat, since newspaper reports prior to the election seemed to support it. It is interesting to note, too, that by contrast, Mr. Johnson in his speeches seemed to make a point of naming the able men who had been recruited to the ranks of the Union Nationale party. Possibly it is the intention of

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Gould, loc.cit.

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Roger Cyr, Editorial, La Patrie, Montreal: 12 June, 1966,  
p. 15

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Sloan, op.cit., p. 20





the Union Nationale to avoid the old tendency to follow the leader. Certainly, since the 1966 election, Jean-Jacques Bertrand, the new minister of Education and Justice, is appearing as an influential government member.

In general policy there is a distinction too, in that the Liberal party supporters are largely middle-class nationalists, whereas the farmers, who support the Union Nationale, are more concerned with economic matters. Another suggested factor in the 1966 Liberal defeat was that agricultural areas had seen their taxes increase considerably under the Liberal government, but had received little noticeable benefit from them.<sup>28</sup> By contrast, in an interview following the election, Mr. Johnson re-emphasized earlier statements by saying that the quiet revolution would go on, but with less tax pressure on the little man.<sup>29</sup>

Separatist Parties. Another factor which affected the outcome of the 1966 election was the comparative strength shown by the two separatist parties.<sup>30</sup> Although neither party obtained seats in the assembly, they polled almost nine per cent of the popular vote; and it seems to be agreed that much of that vote was drawn from the Liberal party. Perhaps the most significant comment about that election

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Cyr, loc.cit.

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C.B.C. interview with Norman Dafoe, 6 June 1966

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Gould, loc.cit. and Cyr, loc.cit.



result is that in this election campaign, separatism became respectable.<sup>31</sup>

Of these two parties the R.I.N. (Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale) the longer established, polled more than twice as big a percentage of the vote as the newer Ralliement National. The former, composed largely of intelligent and idealistic French-Canadians, developed into a political party in 1964 under the leadership of a quiet Quebec City lawyer, Guy Pouliot.<sup>32</sup> This was the group of which Marcel Chaput, author of "Why I Am A Separatist" had been a founder and president, but left to form a party of his own. (He has since returned to R.I.N. membership.) Since then, the leadership has been transferred to a Montreal newspaperman, Pierre Bourgault, renowned for his energy, oratory and optimism.<sup>33</sup> Frequent changes in leadership sometimes indicate dissension within a party, but although this may have been true earlier, the present leader appears to be highly respected within the party as well as by outsiders. Particularly important for the English speaking reader is that the R.I.N. completely rejects violence as a means of achieving its policy.<sup>34</sup>

The other separatist party in the elections, the R.N. (Ralliement Nationale) is a fusion of two groups: more moderate separatists than

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Louis Martin, C.B.C. Today's Editorial, 2 June, 1966

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Sloan, op.cit., p. 84

33

Renaude Lapointe, Editorial, La Presse, Montreal: 6 June, 1966,

p. 4

34

Sloan, op.cit., p. 85





the R.I.N.; and the former provincial social credit group. The latter has turned to separatism mainly because social credit monetary theories, which they hold to in the original form, can only be carried out at the national level. Because the party had existed for only three months before the election, there has been little opportunity for assessing its importance in the provincial political scene.

Social Credit. The federal social credit party, the Cr ditistes, continue to maintain the fundamental social credit monetary theories, including the national dividend idea, one of the reasons for their division from the western movement.<sup>35</sup> As a minority group in Ottawa, their support in the province has had to be maintained as a "group of battlers for the rights of the French in Ottawa".<sup>36</sup> Hence, through demands for complete provincial control over bank credit, foreign trade, immigration policies and the collection of taxes, they arrive at the demand for associate statehood for Quebec.<sup>37</sup>

Socialist Party. The descendant of the C.C.F. and N.D.P. in Quebec is the P.S.Q. (Le Parti Socialiste du Qu bec). In the past, the centralizing tendencies of the national party have been a strong factor limiting its support. Now independent of the federal group, as are the other parties, it is a socialist party based on policies such

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35

Sloan, op.cit., p. 21

36

Ibid., p. 22

37

Ibid.



as large scale nationalization, combined with a strong element of French-Canadian nationalism. Its support is very limited,<sup>38</sup> but may be increasing among urban middle class groups.

#### NATIONALISM

The reader will have observed that one factor common to all parties is the current stress on Quebec nationalism, an essential feature of Quebec politics today. Another characteristic feature to be seen in the proliferation of parties and the division of percentage votes in recent elections, is their "fluidity and unpredictability".<sup>39</sup> To both major parties, the Liberal victory of 1960 and its defeat in 1966, were more than surprising, and resulted in much speculation as to their explanation.

The nationalist elements in the policies of all parties is the link between the internal politics of Quebec and its relationship with the rest of the country. The fact that nationalism in some form is part of the programme of all parties is evidence enough that it must be taken into account in any consideration of Quebec. It cannot be dismissed as a passing fancy for two reasons. First, it has had a continuous history since 1760. Second, it has given rise to demands for independence for Quebec, and to the terrorism of 1963, which kept

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38

Ibid., pp. 23, 24

39

Ibid., p. 24





the city of Montreal in a state of frightened tension for 11 weeks.<sup>40</sup>

Sloan believes the concept of nationalism is manifested in two ways. There is the aggressive, imperialistic manifestation of the strong, such as the nationalism of Nazi Germany; and there is also the self-assertive, more circumscribed variety of those who simply want liberty to develop in their own way, free from the dictates of others, the kind of nationalism Poland demonstrated for two centuries.<sup>41</sup> French-Canadian nationalism is of this latter variety, but it contains currents which pull it in various directions.<sup>42</sup>

Social and Cultural Mixture. After the cession of Canada to England in 1763, it was natural for the French to try to preserve their language and their faith. These are the cultural aspects of French-Canadian nationalism. In the social sphere, French civil law and economic structures soon became intermingled with the cultural aspects. In particular, the economic dominance of "the English" has become more noticeable in the mid-twentieth century, as more French-Canadians have an opportunity to participate in the high standard of living of the North American continent. Perhaps this point has been discussed enough for its importance to be clear.

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Gerald Clark, "Quebec Today, Separatists Lose Ground - But The Revolution Goes On", Weekend Magazine, No. 11, 1965, pp. 2,3

41

Sloan, op.cit., p. 98

42

Ibid., p. 99



What has yet to be made clear for many French-Canadians is that from an economic standpoint alone, their situation is not greatly different from that of English Canadians. The whole Canadian economy is dominated by foreign investors. The only difference in Quebec is that the foreign investors speak a different language, a condition which makes the dominance seem worse. Some recognition of this condition exists among groups like the organized workers, who are beginning to see a closer relationship between themselves and other workers than between themselves and even French-Canadian capitalists. Nevertheless, even for these people, the cultural aspects of nationalism exist.

There is a further extension to the preservation of cultural traits, particularly language and religion. The French-Canadian feels that he is in fact a descendant of the European founders of Canada, and is therefore justified in his demand that the French-Canadian should feel "at home" anywhere in Canada. By this he does not mean that everyone in Canada should learn to speak French. This is a common misconception evident outside Quebec. He does, however, believe that he should be able to use his language in courts, federal government institutions, including the rail and air services across the country, and that French speaking children should have the opportunity of being educated in their own language. It is vital that English speaking Canadians recognize that the Quebecois is not asking as much for his compatriot outside of Quebec as is already granted to the English minority in his own province, where more than the letter of the law is





carried out.

Some English-speaking Canadians, who fear cultural as well as economic domination by the United States, and see in the preservation of a bilingual, bicultural country a means of asserting a Canadian entity, have reached a point of sympathy with the French-Canadian.<sup>43</sup> The assertion of a Canadian entity was a development reached by many French-Canadians early in this century, following the leadership supplied by Henri Bourassa, founder of Le Devoir, and nationalist of renown, in the pan-Canadian sense as well as the French-Canadian sense.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, English-Canadians of the time clung to symbols like "God Save the Queen" (or King) and the Union Jack, in what appeared, and perhaps still appears, to be a sentiment denying Canada's autonomy. Certainly as symbols of the conqueror, they can have little appeal to the loyalty of many French-Canadians.<sup>45</sup>

Under these circumstances, and not having the history of development of the transfer of power from the monarchy to parliament behind them, it is difficult for many French-Canadians to recognize the importance of the Queen's speech to the Quebec Legislature in 1963. In this speech, one sentence caught the attention of Jean Lesage: "The

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Fernand Dumont and Guy Rocher, "An Introduction to a Sociology of French Canada", in Rioux and Martin, op.cit., p. 188

44

Sloan, op.cit., p. 100

45

Ibid.



role of the monarchy is to guarantee the execution of the popular will."<sup>46</sup>

The choice of the word "popular" rather than "majority" has significance. It should be interpreted as meaning the will of the people of Quebec, since it was in their legislature that the statement was made. Many French-Canadians do not recognize the fact that, of necessity in the British tradition, this statement must have had federal government approval. Neither do they realize the value of the monarchy as a non-party political entity which can provide continuity and stability not to be found in other systems. In discussion prior to Confederation Cartier favored "a federation with a view to perpetuating the monarchical element".<sup>47</sup>

A few French-Canadians are openly hostile to the monarchy, many are completely indifferent, but there are also many who, recognizing that the monarchy is representative of the system under which they have been able to survive as an ethnic group, carry as strong a loyalty as anyone in Canada. This loyalty, however, does not detract from the desire to remain French and Canadian. The double aspect of this kind of nationalism is that held by the "moderates" in Quebec.<sup>48</sup> There are

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Gerald Clark, "Quebec Today, The Moderates, Men in the Middle," Weekend Magazine, No. 13, 1965, p. 40

47

Kenneth McNaught, "National Affairs", Saturday Night, February, 1965, p. 8

48

Clark, loc.cit.





practical rather than sentimental reasons for holding this point of view.

The most immediately pressing of these is the economic price that may have to be paid for complete independence. As Pierre-Elliott Trudeau has expressed it, "It doesn't occur to them (separatists) for one minute that English Canada would be so hostile it would rather go barefoot than buy shoes in Quebec--or that Washington might not be sympathetic to a new country on its border".<sup>49</sup>

When considering the preservation of French-Canadian culture, some people fear a "cultural ghetto" in Quebec, and others the loss of the protection Canada can provide as a barrier to U.S. cultural dominance.<sup>50</sup> Finally, some French-Canadians fear the development in an independent Quebec of an authoritarian political system arising out of an apparent French-Canadian tendency to respect a firm man, a despot.<sup>51</sup> The period 1944 to 1960 in Quebec political life seems to provide evidence of this tendency.

Moderate Solutions. Among the terms applied to the final condition sought by the moderate nationalists in Quebec are cooperative federalism, and associate status. Neither of these terms has been

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Clark, Weekend Magazine, No. 11, 1965, pp. 41, 42

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Ibid.

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Ibid.



precisely defined, perhaps with good reason, for as long as there is no hard and fast position taken there is possibility of negotiation.<sup>52</sup>

There is some clarification possible, however. The key word in "cooperative federalism" is the second. This implies a high degree of autonomy for the provinces, apparently carrying with it a constant need to negotiate in order to establish conditions satisfactory to all. The term implies a reversal of the condition described by Jean-Jacques Bertrand,

. . . our French speaking citizens, in the eyes of some people, are merely one minority among others. In many cases, though they are in fact this country's founders and pioneers, they are likened to recent immigrants who have not yet put down roots in our soil.<sup>53</sup>

It implies also a recognition of the new determination of the people of Quebec to participate fully in developing and enjoying the fruits of Quebec's economy. In this area lies the importance of financial relations between Quebec and Ottawa, for it is only by the acquisition of adequate capital that the Quebec government will be able to play its role of creative agent in the economy; hence the importance of provincial control of funds for old age pension plans and the like.

The proponents of associate status for Quebec, and they include many prominent members of the Liberal, Union Nationale and Créditiste parties, feel that the trend evident towards increased centralization

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Sloan, op.cit., p. 116

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Jean-Jacques Bertrand, Speech to Quebec Legislature, May 22, 1963, reported in E. Scott and M. Oliver, (editors), Quebec States Her Case, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1964), p. 115





of government at Ottawa is inevitable, but that this is unacceptable to Quebec because it fails to recognize the basic duality of Canada. Quebec therefore, must be accorded responsibilities which the other, English speaking provinces are quite willing to transfer to Ottawa. Nevertheless, slogans such as "Equality or Independence" must be considered carefully. An editorialist points out,<sup>54</sup> if this were meant literally, its author, Mr. Johnson, would have already chosen separatism or associate status, but these two alternatives cannot solve the total problem, for they leave aside the French speaking minority outside Quebec. In this last observation lies the weakness of the independence theme, and many Quebecois are not yet ready to concede that their compatriots outside the province are lost to French culture.

French-Canadian nationalism then, it not synonymous with separatism. It is possible for Quebec to reach its objectives within the framework of Confederation, but a Confederation which will have a new orientation. Whether Quebec remains in confederation will depend on the extent to which English speaking Canadians are willing and prepared to adjust to Quebec's desire for cultural recognition throughout the country, and fiscal independence within their province. Evidence of some change in the attitude of English speaking Canadians is indicated in the concluding sentence of an editorial discussing federal

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<sup>54</sup> Claude Ryan, "La difficile recherche de l'égalité", Le Devoir, Montreal: 30 June 1966, p. 4



intrusion into provincial fields, when the editorialist says, "You don't have to be French to be exasperated when other people undertake to do your business for you."<sup>55</sup>

Not all the protest in this area comes from Quebec. The same editorial suggests that other provinces are grateful for Quebec's expressed objections, thereby permitting them "to avoid the odium of seeming to oppose popular welfare legislation".<sup>56</sup> In the case of the proposed Federal Medical Care programme several provinces have been hesitant to commit themselves, and the Alberta government was reported as having no intention of modifying its medical care plan to suit the federal government.<sup>57</sup> Premier Duff Roblin of Manitoba in a speech in which he also affirmed the special position of Quebec, stated that "Canadian federalism should be reshaped to give the provinces greatly increased fiscal resources...."<sup>58</sup>

Separatism. These changes of attitude at the institutional level are not sufficient to persuade the separatist that there is any hope that other provinces will accord to French speaking minorities the same rights which have always been granted the English minority in Quebec. He simply looks back on the record and feels that what has

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MacLean's Magazine, Editorial, 15 Nov., 1965, p. 4

56

Ibid.

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Edmonton Journal, 31 January 1966, p. 23

58

Edmonton Journal, 8 February 1966, p. 2





been done in very recent years is "too little, too late". Apart from a very few fanatics, the separatist movement is made up of people who express themselves in terms indicating that they are sorry that things have not worked out, and that they see no hope of their being worked out within Confederation. Therefore, they strive peacefully for a separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada, present relations to be replaced by normal international diplomatic relations.<sup>59</sup>

Confronted by the argument that this would mean a considerable lowering of the standard of living, they reply that economists disagree on this subject. If true, it would be temporary and worth it to be "masters in their own house". As for French-Canadians outside of Quebec, separatists consider them largely assimilated anyway. Their very bilingualism is a mark of the colonial status of French-Canadians.<sup>60</sup> There is no hope that they will remain French under any arrangement.

If an attempt to analyse what makes a separatist, Gerald Clark recounts the story of the English-speaking community of Cookshire, which, encouraged by its pastor, refused to rent a house to the family of Pierre Bourgault, simply because the family was French.<sup>61</sup> Pelletier is reported as saying, "Every French-Canadian has a Cookshire experience somewhere in his background."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Sloan, op. cit., pp. 91, 92

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Gerald Clark "Quebec Today, Separatists Lose Ground - But The Revolution Goes On", Weekend Magazine, No. 11, 1965, p. 2

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 3



Such incidents exemplify the arrogance of individual English-Canadians which has brought bitter resentment to the hearts of many French-Canadians. Many such experiences were recounted in my interviews throughout the province. One such story, though it dates back to the war years, is so shocking that even wartime bitterness cannot excuse it: A former professor of French of an Ontario university said that she and her mother hailed a taxi in Montreal, and spoke English because the driver had spoken English to them. Once settled in the cab, mother and daughter were talking in their own language. When the driver had verified that they were speaking French, he stopped the cab, put their luggage on the sidewalk, and told them they could walk to the station.

The reader may see this as just the action of an ignorant and ill-mannered man, but similar incidents initiated by people of various walks of life have left a scar for so many French-Canadians that they are now understandably over-sensitive.

Changed Attitudes. Conditions have changed; but, says the French-Canadian, it took the bombs of terrorists to bring about changes, and they are not occurring fast enough. The changed atmosphere was recently put to the test in Toronto by reporter Arnold Edinborough and Yves Thériault, internationally known Canadian author. A whole day of using French in Toronto to ask directions, send a telegramme, buy stamps and the like resulted in much pantomime and pointing, some replies in very poor French, but no commands to





"Speak White", or other rudeness. Perhaps the surprise of the day came for Thériault when he received a "torrent of Montreal East dialect which almost knocked (him) off his stool."<sup>63</sup>

Similar changes for the good are reported elsewhere, as in the case of the opening of a General Motors of Canada plant in Quebec.<sup>64</sup> Examples of the old attitudes on the part of individuals and groups are still experienced, however. Deane Russell of Ottawa, is founder of "The Voice of Canada", a small organization advocating English only as the language for Canada,<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps more important is reporting which can be misleading to both English speaking and French speaking Canadians. For example, under a headline "McGill's Grant Cut Widens Quebec Split",<sup>66</sup> is reported the reduction of grants to Quebec universities. The reporter uses such phrases as, "attempt to clip the wings of McGill University's growth". The headline measures more than an inch in depth, no other university name is mentioned, but in the last few lines of the article comes the statement "thus scaling down the hopes of McGill and other universities".<sup>67</sup> The reductions to the other universities were very

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Arnold Edinborough, "Speak White in Toronto", Saturday Night, Toronto: April, 1966, pp. 12, 13

64

Hervé Lepine, La Patrie, Montreal: 15 May, 1966, p. 14

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Edmonton Journal, 15 Sept. 1965, p. 82

66

Tim Creery, Edmonton Journal, 19 February, 1966, p. 15

67

Ibid.



real to a number of University of Montreal students with whom I talked. They were even more real to a Laval University graduate student who was anticipating an appointment to a position which had to be cancelled because of reduced grants. By coincidence, he was working for the summer as a result of a grant awarded to Laval by the University of McGill. Evidently the split was wider in the headline than it was between McGill and Laval.

This sort of reporting or editorial phrases like "government's kow-towing to Quebec",<sup>68</sup> feed the bitter reaction of backward looking French-Canadians at a time when many of their English speaking compatriots are trying to persuade them that the Toronto experience of Yves Thériault, and the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism are more important reflections of the current attitude towards Quebec. What many are saying in effect is that English-Canadian separatism as it has been called, holds only among a minority who are still decrying the fact that the French were ever given the right to keep their language.

On many occasions people have expressed to me the opinion that everybody in Canada should speak English, and that the mistake was to allow the French to maintain their language at all. "Do they think they'd still be speaking French if some other country had conquered them?" This denial of the basic duality of Canada is precisely what

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68

Edmonton Journal, editorial, 21 February, 1966, p. 4





the French-Canadian separatist expects, and consequently reacts by assuming that the only reasonable thing to do is to create two individual states, a divorce after two hundred years of an uneasy marriage.

Results of Separatism. The results of the division of English Canada into two distinctly separate parts can only be guessed at. The artificial geographic link formed by transportation routes, the "Canada from Sea to Sea" ideal, would be shattered. Some people suggest that already existing north-south ties would develop rapidly to the point at which the parts of Canada would quickly be absorbed into the United States. The idea of imported goods passing along the St. Lawrence through a foreign country, and a foreign Montreal, gives some cause for concern, though, of course, it is not an impossible situation. Perhaps these are unnecessarily pessimistic conjectures, but they seem to have sufficient basis for Canadians, both French and English speaking, to recognize that the consequences of separation are likely to represent a higher price to pay than the price of a solution within some form of confederation. Apart from the loyalty, or sentimental attachment that some citizens have for Canada, itself a worthy consideration, there seems to be justification for seeking alternatives.

Alternatives. In a discussion of the two races in Ontario,<sup>69</sup> Léopold Lamontagne suggests that there are three possibilities: assim-





ilation, coexistence and the deliberate acceptance of cooperation. It seems reasonable to apply these possibilities to Canada as a whole.

That the first of these, assimilation, should even be considered is a refusal on the part of English speaking Canadians, reputed to be essentially practical or pragmatic, to accept the fact that the French in Canada simply have not been and will not be assimilated. Whether the rest of Canada agrees with the principle or not, the fact remains. After 200 years, French-Canadians have maintained their language. Even those outside the mainstay of French culture have succeeded in varying degrees. If all, or a majority, of English-Canadians will accept this fact, like death and taxes which are unavoidable, a change in attitude resulting in seeking other solutions is possible.

The second possibility is to admit that the present situation, though uncomfortable, can continue; "but is it to live a really happy life to glare constantly at each other?"<sup>70</sup> Moreover, will the influence of moderates in Quebec be able for ever to contain the very real strength of the separatists? This seems unlikely if one takes into account all those Quebecois who say, "I am not a Separatist, but I can visualize conditions under which I could become one." It is a matter of time and amount of recognizable adjustment. The English-born engineer working in Quebec for several years, who dismissed Separatism as

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Ibid., p. 372





the interest of a "bunch of young kids", and as being "no sweat" simply is ignorant of its real power in the province. Among the many French-Canadians I met, not one considered separation as impossible.

Various proposals have been made as to what form the alternative of positive cooperation might take. All of these revolve around some reorientation of the British North America Act which would provide "official bilingualism before the courts, within the provincial governments and in the educational systems".<sup>71</sup> At the same time, it would have to provide a system for future amendment of the constitution in which the French minority could feel that they were adequately protected from domination by the English speaking majority.

Fundamental to revision of the constitution, if some form of separation is to be avoided, is the goodwill of both groups. It would appear at the moment that constitutional revision would assuredly result in some form of division of the country into two distinct political units. This is frequently given as one reason for the change in attitude of Mr. Lesage towards the Fulton-Favreau proposal for repatriation of the constitution. Time is therefore needed to convince extremists in both groups of the value of cooperation and goodwill for the preservation of a united Canada, and particularly for the majority group to demonstrate its goodwill towards the minority.<sup>72</sup>

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Sloan, op.cit., p. 111

72

Ibid., p. 120



Only in this way is it possible to preserve a united, but not uniform country, in which bilingualism and biculturalism will exist in fact, in which Canadians of both the founding groups can feel a loyalty based on more than sentiment, in which a culture really distinctive will have the opportunity to develop.





## CHAPTER V

### THE CHURCH IN QUEBEC

"The history of French-Canada is, to a very great extent the history of the Catholic Church in Canada."<sup>1</sup> To dissociate the history of the Church from that of other aspects of the province is unrealistic because, from its first settlement, Quebec has been "a human environment in which there has been an inextricable mixture of political and ecclesiastical structures, temporal and spiritual ideologies, electoral and religious attitudes."<sup>2</sup>

However, in religious matters the people of Quebec can no longer be described as completely homogeneous. Father Norbert Lacoste agrees with the idea expressed in the previous paragraph, but only in the context of rural Quebec. In an urban society, he maintains, it is possible to conduct many studies on work or social classes without ever touching on the specifically religious dimensions.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps because he is a Montrealer, and is therefore in closer contact with the

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Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Les Canadiens français et leur idéologie," in Mason Wade, (editor) Canadian Dualism/La Dualité Canadienne, (Toronto and Quebec: University of Toronto Press, Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), p. 27

2

Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Les Recherches Religieuses Au Canada-Français," in Fernand Dumont and Yves Martin, Situation de la recherche sur le Canada français (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1962) p. 218 (See appendix for the fuller statement).

3

Norbert Lacoste, "Commentaire" in Dumont and Martin, op.cit., p. 230 (See appendix).



milieu in which traditional values have been most affected by North American secular standards, Father Lacoste has been made more acutely conscious of changes which have taken place.<sup>4</sup>

Homogeneity in religion, particularly in rural Quebec, and variations within the homogeneity, particularly in the urban centres, represent in summary the history and influence of the Church in Quebec, from the founding of New France to the present. The purpose of this chapter will be to trace the history of the Church through the French regime, the English regime, and contemporary French-Canada. Its influence will be considered under three main aspects: social life, education, and economy.

For the purposes of this study the Church is to be defined as the Roman Catholic Church, for it is this institution which has always had the strongest influence and the greatest number of adherents. This is not to deny the existence of protestant churches in Quebec, of both English and French expression. Some of the oldest protestant church buildings in Canada are to be found in Quebec City, but their adherents have always represented but a small percentage of the population; and such congregations can lay no claim to the spiritual development of the province during the first 150 years of its European occupation.

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Maurice Beaulieu and André Normandeau, "Le rôle de la religion à travers l'histoire du Canada français," in Cité Libre: Montreal, XVI, 71, November, 1964, p. 23.





A distinction needs to be made before entering fully into the discussion of the Church: that is, the distinction between the Church as an organization including its officials, and the Church, in its broadest sense including all the laity. Relations between Church and State have most frequently occurred between the officials of the upper hierarchy of the two institutions, without the participation of the laity. Sometimes, however, the influence of the Church on the State has been through the influence of Church officials over the lay members as electors. In the contemporary period it seems as if there is an influence by the lay people on the Church institution. Perhaps for the first time, influence is exerted from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy.

The French Regime. The initiators of the colony of New France were men seeking material gain, but they were helped by soldiers, priests, clerics and founders of religious orders, whose spiritual ambition was to establish in the New World a Catholic society in the image of that in the mother country.<sup>5</sup> It was a cross that Cartier erected at Gaspé in claiming the country for the King of France, thus symbolizing the mixture of spiritual and temporal interests, a mixture which has given rise to such descriptions of French-Canadian society

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<sup>5</sup> Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Role and Importance of the Church in French-Canada," in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, French-Canadian Society, Vol. 1. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), pp. 342, 343.



as that already quoted at the opening of the chapter.

Moreover, the mixture of spiritual and temporal was not merely an expression of the desire of the earliest colonizers, but an official policy. At no time were protestants admitted to New France, and the colony prided itself on the fact that it included no heretics.<sup>6</sup> It is said that members of the Jesuit order would examine new arrivals and expel the undesirables. For example, the women of ill repute were repatriated to France at the expense of the shipowner who had brought them.<sup>7</sup>

In the limiting of new arrivals to those of Catholic faith is found one of the most marked distinctions between New France and the English colonies in America. In the latter, generally, were rebels and free thinkers who had emigrated to establish themselves in areas where they would be free from the religious, political, and economic pressures in England.<sup>8</sup> It follows then, that the people who settled in New France were believers who had willingly accepted the authority of the Church, and the development of a theocratic society was a natural outcome of this condition.

Two general aspects of the period of the French regime can be identified. The first of these was the long conflict between the ecclesiastical power and the political power. The governor sought to

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 343

<sup>7</sup>Perspectives d'outremer, special number, "Le Québec", (Monaco: Editions Paul Bory, January-February, 1964), p. 73.

<sup>8</sup>Falardeau, loc. cit.





control the Church as Louis XIV controlled the Church of France. However, with the appointment in 1659 of Monseigneur Laval as the first Bishop of Quebec directly responsible to Rome instead of to Rouen,<sup>9</sup> there appeared a man of strong will who challenged the authority of the political power, seeking support directly from the Pope. This struggle was to continue long after the end of the French regime. In the mid-twentieth century, where differences of policy arise between Church and State, they appear to be discussed in a spirit of mutual concern rather than of conflict. Discussion of the contemporary situation will include this aspect of church-state relations.

The conflicts are only one side of the story, however, and were restricted largely to members of the upper hierarchies of the religious and political institutions. The second general aspect of the period, by contrast, affected the whole of French-Canadian society. The Church, in fact, might be considered as the principal agent in building the society, for its real influence was to be felt in the quiet functioning of education, welfare, and charity institutions, and in the structure of parish life.<sup>10</sup> In the absence of any other organization, it was the Church and the religious orders who were

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<sup>9</sup> Falardeau, op. cit., p. 344.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 345



responsible for whatever education was available, who founded and staffed the hospitals, carried on the missionary work among the Indians, and laid the foundation for municipal organization in the establishment of parishes.

Lapierre warns of the facility with which the conflicts between Church and State can be exaggerated, and also of considering these conflicts as a purely French-Canadian problem. Every modern society has passed through similar crises.<sup>11</sup> He also maintains that the only exclusive authority of the Church never disputed by governors or intendants was in the field of education, or in the intellectual and cultural development of the colony.<sup>12</sup> It must be remembered that his discussion is of a seventeenth century context, when conditions in both England and France were not very different from those in New France. The period cannot be judged by twentieth century values exemplified by universal suffrage and the Bill of Human Rights.

The English Regime. "Paradoxically, the final triumph of the Church came with the defeat of Montcalm and the capture of New France by Protestant England."<sup>13</sup> Lapierre describes the development of the Church's quasi-monopoly of civil action by making use of its spiritual supremacy:

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Laurier L. Lapierre, "Les Relations Entre L' Eglise Et L'Etat Au Canada Français, Aperçu historique," in Marcel Rioux (editor) L'Eglise Et Le Québec, (Montreal: Les Editions du Jour, 1961), p. 32.

12

Ibid. p. 35 (see appendix).

13

T.S. Sloan, Quebec - The Not-So-Quiet Revolution, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), p. 26.





its prime role will never be to animate the State; but rather to organize, to manage and to operate almost all the social organisms necessary for the full development of society. This will be done not only with the consent of the State, but, in several cases, at its request...."<sup>14</sup>

With the return to France of those nobles connected with the court and almost all of the higher clergy,<sup>15</sup> the English authorities turned to the remaining clergy and seigneurs for support of their administration. In turn, the Church recognized that allying itself with the conquerors was the only means of assuring its spiritual function as well as the temporal interests necessary to maintain its mission.<sup>16</sup> In this policy was born the Church's traditional support of the British monarchy, a policy which has never been completely accepted by the people of Quebec.

Lapierre believes that the English authorities re-instituted the tithe and other clerical privileges in 1774 in order to obtain the support of the clergy in face of the threat of the American Revolution. In spite of this renewal of the Church's ecclesiastical power, its political power was limited: "for even the refusal of the sacraments and the threat of excommunication could not force the habitant to enrol in the English militia...."<sup>17</sup>

During the period immediately following the conquest, and particularly with the influx of Loyalists immediately after the

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<sup>14</sup>

Lapierre, op. cit. p. 36 (See appendix).

<sup>15</sup>

Falardeau, in Rioux and Martin, op. cit. p. 346

<sup>16</sup>

Lapierre op. cit. p. 37

<sup>17</sup>

Ibid. (See appendix)



American revolution, the Church took upon itself the leadership in the struggle for the survival of the French language and the Catholic faith. When the French Revolution, with its materialist, anti-religious spirit, divorced French Canada from its source of cultural and spiritual nourishment, the role of the Church became even more important as the stimulus of cultural and national survival. One theme developed to try to maintain the French and Roman Catholic character of society was the superiority of the agricultural life over that of the urban dweller. Urban centres, with their mercantilism and materialism, were seen as threats to spiritual well being.

The Constitution Act of 1791, granting an elected assembly, created the necessity for a new political force, comprising jurists, politicians and journalists. With experience this group placed itself between the civil and religious powers, and with the coming of responsible government and Confederation became the civil authority.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century the history of Quebec is marked by the struggle for political power between the representatives of the State and the representatives of the Church.

Underlying the struggle was the urgent desire of the Church to fulfil its mission of establishing a centre of the Catholic faith in the New World, a mission rendered more significant with the loss of France to the anti-religious, anti-clerical forces of the French Revolution. The confusion in the minds of many of the clergy between

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Ibid. p. 38.





"condemned Catholic liberalism and permitted political liberalism" resulted in bitter conflicts not only between Church and State, but also among leaders of the Church.<sup>19</sup> A part of this opposition to the development of democratic institutions was the ultramontanism of the Church, carried to an extreme by some of its representatives, who transferred Papal infallibility even to the humblest priest. Wade quotes the following example from the pen of Bishop Bourget: "Let each say in his heart: 'I hear my curé, my curé hears the bishop, the bishop hears the Pope, and the Pope hears our Lord Jesus Christ'".<sup>20</sup>

Preaching such submission to authority was the Church's defence against the liberalism which it feared would lead to a loss of faith.<sup>21</sup> French-Canadian politicians, particularly in the federal field, felt that their influence would be nullified if their Anglo-Saxon protestant counterparts felt that they were merely spokesmen for the Church.<sup>22</sup> The exerting of undue influence by the clergy which caused the annulment of three elections in the 1870's was a source of embarrassment to Catholic politicians.<sup>23</sup> Such incidents have also been suggested as the basis for what has been called fanatical protestantism in Canada.<sup>24</sup>

Following Confederation, the Church saw Quebec as a state within

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<sup>19</sup>Mason Wade, The French-Canadians, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956) p. 360, citing Mandements de Montréal, VII, 299, Bourget's circular, 1 February, 1876.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Beaulieu and Normandeau, op. cit., p. 18

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Lapierre, op. cit., p. 39

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.



a state, and from this attitude developed the nationalism which was part of ecclesiastical political thinking. The reasoning behind the policy was simply that in a state which was predominantly Catholic, it should be feasible to restore the supremacy of Church over State. To this policy also were found opponents within the Church as well as in the political parties, particularly in the Liberal party of the period.<sup>25</sup> Lapierre feels that the period of undue influence by the Church in political affairs ended with the election of the Laurier government in 1896.<sup>26</sup> By "undue influence" is meant outright campaigning from the pulpit, threats of excommunication and denial of the sacraments to those who did not follow the political directives of the clergy, refusal to bury rebels in holy ground, and similar activities. The date, 1896, coincides with that of a story reported by Mason Wade. He shows that there were then, as always, Catholic laymen who made independent decisions about the spiritual and temporal power of the Church, between the divine and the human aspects. He tells of the habitant who said to his priest:

I cannot vote for M. Laurier, for you tell me that if I vote for a Liberal, I shall be damned; I cannot vote for M. Bourbeau, for you tell me that if I do not follow my conscience I shall be damned; I cannot vote for neither, for you tell me that if I do not vote at all, I shall be damned. Since I must be damned anyway, I'll be damned for doing what I like. I am going to vote for M. Laurier.<sup>27</sup>

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Ibid. p. 40

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Ibid. p. 32

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Wade, op. cit. p. 369, citing Dr. O.D. Skelton.





The influence of the clergy extended into the social life of the people of Quebec farther than in the area of politics. Beaulieu and Normandeau affirm strongly, however, that it was only in the nineteenth century that there were sufficient clergy to create the ideal conditions by which the people could be modelled according to the ideals of the Church.<sup>28</sup> Falardeau points out that through the parish as a social organization the priest has a strong influence on the parishioners. In the weekly sermon, the teaching, directives, recommendations and remonstrances of the priest maintain the essential rules of individual and collective behaviour.<sup>29</sup> The presence of the clergy as chaplains in youth organizations, trade unions, co-operative associations, normal schools and all types of social organizations further extended the influence of the Church.

This formal activity of the clergy is not the only way in which Quebec society is influenced by the Church. With the rare exception of groups from France, the main body of French-Canadian clergy have been recruited from among the people of Quebec, and until recently, from all social classes. There is therefore rarely a French-Canadian family that does not have a member or relative in the clergy or in one of the religious orders. Most graduates of colleges have old school friends following a religious vocation, so that the

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28

Beaulieu and Normandeau, op. cit. p. 18 and p. 19

29

Falardeau, op. cit., p. 353.



"totality of the society is reflected within the clergy."<sup>30</sup> Any problem concerning the clergy is, therefore, thought of as a "family" problem, not as a problem concerning only one distinct part of society.<sup>31</sup>

Contemporary Society. The industrialization and urbanization of the province, which began towards the end of the nineteenth century, marks a change in the role of the Church in Quebec. The Church was ill-prepared to face the new conditions of an urban society and assumed its responsibility with a "good proportion of unrealism".<sup>32</sup> The attempt to transfer rural values to an urban milieu has not met with success. The old ways of thinking no longer apply, so that increasing numbers of members of the church fail to turn to the clergy for solutions to everyday problems as they did in the past. Political, trade union, and cooperative association leaders have appeared, whose activities are closer to immediate problems, and with whom the clergy must now share the leadership role.

Pelletier recognizes a growing number of declared agnostics, not just among the "intellectual bourgeois" as formerly, but in all social classes.<sup>33</sup> He continues by noting, particularly among youth, an appeal for recognition of freedom of speech and a critical mind,

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Ibid., p. 355

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Fernand Dumont, "Réflexions Sur L'Histoire Religieuse Du Canada Français, " in Marcel Rioux (editor) L'Eglise Et Le Québec op. cit., p. 55.

33

Gérard Pelletier, "Feu l'Unanimité", in Cité Libre, October, 1960, pp 8 - 11

31

Ibid.





that faith consists no longer of blind support for all the temporal positions held by the clergy. Paul-Emile Roy, while maintaining the authority of government, and therefore the need of the people to obey it, nevertheless recognizes that because the Church is in part human, it is open to error. Christians therefore have the right to criticize it, but constructively, in Christian love.<sup>34</sup>

In urban parishes a social stratification both within the parish, and as between parishes has been observed. In fact, participation in parish organizations may even be a handicap in social stratification, which is based on secular success.<sup>35</sup> This importance of secular success in society requires adjustment of thinking and action on the part of the Church, since the traditional parish included all members of the community, regardless of class.

Falardeau notes that the urban bourgeoisie and upper middle-class are supplying fewer recruits for the clergy, and that most recruits have a working class background and come from an urban milieu. He suggests that the clergy itself may share the uncertainty of the urban dweller in the definition of new needs and goals.<sup>36</sup> He continues:

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Paul-Emile Roy, C.S.C. Les Intellectuels dans la cité, (Montreal and Paris: Fides, 1963), pp. 69 ff.

35

Beaulieu and Normandeau, op. cit., p. 22

36

Falardeau, in Rioux and Martin, op. cit., p. 121



The continuance of its (the Church's) traditional authority, still formally acknowledged, may depend on its ability to formulate with clarity a liberal, long-range labour policy and on its ability to re-orient the pattern of its relationships with larger segments of the population who have developed a stronger sense of responsibility.<sup>37</sup>

Contemporary change in the role of the Church is part of the change taking place in the total French-Canadian society. Many changes have occurred in the last twenty years. Many Catholics in Quebec feel that further change will take place, and take place rapidly in the new spirit of freedom in the province, and in what one man described as the more liberal, modern and ecumenical spirit emanating from the recent Vatican Council.

Ten years ago, for example, Fathers Dion and O'Neill criticized members of the clergy for their direct participation in elections.<sup>38</sup> They cited such examples as "gifts to the right causes touching sensitive chords in certain ecclesiastical souls," and such reminders from the pulpit as, "Before going to vote, don't forget to take a look at our beautiful new school."<sup>39</sup> In July of 1966, Father Dion is reported as saying that "he doubts that intervention by Quebec's Roman Catholic clergy had much influence on the outcome of the June 5 provincial general election."<sup>40</sup>

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37

Ibid.

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Gérard Dion and Louis O'Neill, Le Chrétien et les élections, Montreal: (Les Editions de l'Homme, 1960) fifth edition.

39

Ibid., pp. 120,121

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Edmonton Journal, 28 July, 1966, p. 2





This is not to say that there is no Church influence on political issues which concern the Church, but the influence is exercised in an atmosphere of mutual interest. Sloan reports, for example, that the introduction of a bill to form a Ministry of Education was delayed six months in order to make changes requested by the bishops.<sup>41</sup> He continues:

In return for concessions, which still left the initiative in the hands of the government, Premier Lesage received what virtually amounted to an imprimatur for the bill in the form of a letter from Archbishop Maurice Roy, the Primate of Quebec, expressing satisfaction with the measure. The letter aggravated the distress of those members of the opposition who still opposed the bill, but made its passage certain.<sup>42</sup> (emphasis not in original).

O'Neill calls for the acceptance of a positive tolerance of choice and expression of opinion for all Christians as well as for those who do not accept the Christian position.<sup>43</sup> Such tolerance is frequently exemplified by individuals who express respect for a genuine conviction, Christian or otherwise. At the institutional level it can be seen in the difference of treatment of the Jehovah's Witnesses in their recent convention in Montreal, as compared with the much publicized persecution they experienced twenty years ago. Jules Béliveau reports that their leaders feel that Quebec's attitude towards them has changed radically, perhaps because of the Vatican Council, and

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<sup>41</sup> Sloan, op. cit., p. 41

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Louis O'Neill, Ptre. "Eglise Et Etat, Reflexions théologiques sur le problème", in Marcel Rioux (editor) L'Eglise Et Le Québec, op. cit., p. 71.





that their greatest obstacle now is the religious indifference of a large part of the population.<sup>44</sup> Jean Ethier-Blais also remarks on the "absence of God", according to his observation of life in Montreal.<sup>45</sup>

Changes have occurred in the role of the church even in the operation of the parish. In a published speech of Archbishop Maurice Roy, the Archbishop reports an incident in which the churchwardens blocked his decision by refusing to vote funds for the erection of a new church.<sup>46</sup> This was related in order to show the power of the churchwardens. However, the Archbishop continued with what appears to be a contradictory statement:

This contrary decision paralyzed the parish priest, it also paralyzed me. And as a bishop is not normally inclined to change his decisions, there was nothing left but to wait till the wardens should alter their decision.<sup>47</sup>

A French-Canadian Catholic layman, asked whether the authority of the Church is still maintained in the same manner, replied, "You can take it for granted that it isn't. There have been and there will be considerable changes, for the better, in my opinion".

<sup>44</sup>Jules Béliveau, "Les Témoins de Jehovah en congrès à Montreal Il y a 20 Ans, on Les Pourchassait" Perspectives, No. 28, 9 July, 1966, p. 13.

<sup>45</sup>Jean Ethier-Blais, "Les Essais" a review of "Peut-on être chrétien aujourd'hui", by Jean-Marie Paupert, Le Devoir, Montreal: 9 July, 1966, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup>Maurice Roy, The Parish and Democracy in French Canada, Duncan and John Gray Memorial Lecture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) English Translation, pp. 19-21

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.





At Rimouski in the summer of 1965 Catholic laymen were taking their turn in the pulpit. Even the president of the local Rotary Club took his turn in delivering the weekly sermon. In at least one parish, the priest is deliberately giving to laymen a more prominent role in the control of their church. He believes that when a community of the faithful is adult, the clergy should not fear handing over the reins to the members. As for the direction of their consciences, he says that one no longer really directs, he listens.<sup>48</sup>

Legal changes effected in parish organization are to be seen in the Fabrique Act of 1965.<sup>49</sup> One important change initiated was according women the right to be elected wardens. Another was the termination of the system of the assessment of parishioners for the construction of new churches.<sup>50</sup> In the wider sphere of social life, the Act requires all fabriques to dispose of the "recreational activities or undertakings which it administers and of all property utilized by it for such purposes."<sup>51</sup> This clause was included partly because of the financial strain on parish budgets incurred by such undertakings, but also because the responsibility for leisure activities

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<sup>48</sup>Michel Vadeboncoeur, "A Duvernay, les paroissiens dirigent, le curé est redevenu prêtre," La Patrie, Montreal, 12 Juin, 1966, p. 7

<sup>49</sup>The Fabrique is a committee of elected laymen which, with the clergy, is responsible for the conduct of the temporal affairs of a parish.

<sup>50</sup>Gaston Binette, Minister of State, "Discours De Présentation Du Bill 76 Loi Des Fabriques." to the (Quebec) Legislative Assembly, 14 July, 1965., pp. 9,8.

<sup>51</sup>The Fabrique Act, 13-14 Elizabeth II, Chapter 76, Article 74, p. 21.



was recognized as belonging to civil governments.<sup>52</sup>

Two other important social organizations have given examples of the growing responsibility of the layman, and the consequent restriction of the role of the clergy. Both the cooperative movement and the formerly Catholic trade union movement of Quebec have officially declared themselves non-confessional. Membership is open to anyone of good will, with full rights and privileges of membership, regardless of religious affiliation.

There is still a place for religious counsel in these organizations, but the important principle of the division of the secular from the sacred has been officially made. This distinction is becoming evident in the minds of individuals, both lay and religious, and through these people, in the social structures of the province.

The Church and Education.<sup>53</sup> Religious participation in education in Quebec has been one of the most important influences of the Church on society.<sup>54</sup> The Church was responsible for the earliest effort in education in New France, with the opening of schools and convents by the priests and members of religious orders. This early interest was largely directed at the secondary level, the opinion of that time being that the general population had little need for education.

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<sup>52</sup> Binette, op. cit., pp. 10, 11.

<sup>53</sup> Since a later chapter is to be devoted to the subject of education, the discussion in this chapter will indicate only the general interest and influence of the Church in this field.

<sup>54</sup> Beaulieu and Normandeau, op. cit., p. 20. The following brief summary is largely based on the article quoted.





The nineteenth century brought protestant and middle class French pressure for more extended education facilities. Resulting State activity in elementary education stimulated an interest on the part of the bishops in education at this level. Many priests felt it was a danger to the faith and customs of the people. There was increased development at the secondary level also, with the opening of nine new colleges and the establishing of Laval as a university.

Industrialization in the twentieth century forced a further extension of elementary education, but the emphasis remained at the secondary level. Secondary school teachers, who were priests or members of religious orders, saw in the demands made by economic development, the spectre of materialism and Americanization, and felt they must oppose the menace. The relationship between the Catholic ethic and the capitalist mind resulted in an educated elite oriented above all towards spiritual values, and not earthly success.

The existence at both major universities of individual scholars, and groups of scholars, in fields related more to twentieth century needs cannot be ignored. Nor can the fact that many of them were members of religious teaching orders. Among their students are many of the members of the new elites presently in the province.

A gradual growth in religious and lay minds of support for a comprehensive and universally available system of education has resulted in the creation of a Department of Education under the control of the State. That cooperation between religious and political leaders helped to bring it about has already been noted. It is expected that



such cooperation will continue between the two bodies.

The Church and Economic Life. Under the French regime the land grants to the Church and religious orders were rightly made to provide necessary funds for the variety of social work they undertook. Under the English regime, French participation in economic life was reduced to a minimum so that there was little problem for the Church in this area.<sup>55</sup>

The attitude of the Church towards economic development has always been controlled by the belief in the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal. To some extent, this attitude has accounted for the lack of participation of French-Canadians in the economic development of the province, as noted in an earlier chapter. It explains also, in large measure, the Church's opposition to the emigration of families to the United States in the nineteenth century, for the emigration was undertaken only to seek material success. The subsequent emphasis on colonization, and the "agricultural vocation", preached by the Church is well known.<sup>56</sup>

With industrialization appeared trade unions which at first were in no way denominational in nature.<sup>57</sup> Early in the twentieth century the Church, fearing the materialist influence, launched itself fully into the movement. Gradually, the economic needs have been separated

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Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

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Ibid., p. 21

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Ibid., p. 20. The following statement is a summary of the presentation in the article cited, and is deliberately brief as a fuller treatment appears in a later chapter.





from the spiritual, until the official declaration of non-denominationalism was made.

During the period of the twentieth century, the Church has frequently been called upon to act as arbitrator in industrial disputes, and has often been criticized for what appeared to be a sympathy for the employer rather than the worker. A turning point in the role of the Church and the development of trade unions was reached in the bitter Asbestos strike of 1949.

Beaulieu and Normandeau maintain that the Church is still little adapted to an industrial society.<sup>58</sup> Only in 1946 did the bishopric recognize the existence of a working class group in Quebec society.<sup>59</sup> Up to then most of the clergy were convinced that there was "no salvation outside the agricultural vocation".<sup>60</sup> They were not alone in this belief; other traditional elites also accepted the belief. Only lately is seen the possibility of separating the religious factor from economic life.<sup>61</sup>

The general atmosphere in the Church in Quebec has been expressed by one of its best known critics.<sup>62</sup> In order to place in

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58

Ibid., p. 21

59

Ibid., p. 21

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Ibid.

61

Ibid.

62

Frère Untel (Pierre Jerome), The Impertinences of Brother Anonymous, Translation by Miriam Chapin, (Montreal: Harvest House, 1965).



perspective the criticisms that are made, it must be noted first that the author says: "I would not live five minutes outside the Roman Catholic Church," and that his "only purpose in writing is to serve the Church."<sup>63</sup>

In this criticism of both the Church and of the education that it has offered in the province, Frère Untel writes at length about the official texts about liberty and democracy written by priests. He condemns them as containing at the least "not the strongest statements in the world" about the value of liberty.<sup>64</sup> He claims that "we are freer than we think, that it isn't liberty that's lacking, but the courage to use the liberty we have."<sup>65</sup>

In this last statement he appears to have captured the spirit of the province, in which criticism of the Church and its activities goes hand in hand with the criticism of other institutions. The criticism, however, is in a constructive spirit, not in revolt. As Frère Untel says, it is in the spirit of the "ones who make peace, as one makes new land, fighting against the rocks, the roots, the quackgrass. To be peaceful doesn't mean to be asleep and indifferent."<sup>66</sup>

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63

Ibid., p. 121

64

Ibid., p. 65

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Ibid., p. 70

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Ibid., p. 94





## CHAPTER VI

### THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The influence of the Church in the development of the trade union movement in Quebec has occasioned an aspect of trade unionism peculiar to that province: the growth of trade unions which were founded as organizations open only to members of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> Not all members of the clergy have supported the movement, however, as will be seen in the description of incidents which mark the development of the movement.

The history of other trade unions in Quebec is similar to their history elsewhere in Canada. Consequently, this chapter will deal largely with the development and role of the "confessional" trade unions. Conflicts between the two groups will be discussed, however. Distinctive characteristics of confessional trade unionism will be described. Changes in the degree of confessionality are part of the development of the movement. Some current problems in inter-union relationships will be discussed as the contemporary situation is considered.

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<sup>1</sup>Throughout the literature in English on this subject, the terms "confessional" and "confessionality" are used in reference to such unions to the exclusion of "denominational" and "denominationalism", the terms which might be expected in English. Similarly the term "neutral" is used to describe the non-Catholic unions, and "syndicate" is used instead of "Catholic union". This discussion follows the practice established by others.



## EARLY COMMON HISTORY

French-Canadian Scene. As in the United States and in several European countries, the pioneers of the trade union movement in Canada were the printers, who organized in Quebec City as early as 1827, and in the following six years in Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton.<sup>2</sup> English workers organized unions shortly after their arrival in Canada, though these were legalized in 1882 only after long opposition.<sup>3</sup> The French-Canadian labourer was used to long hours in agriculture or the timber trade. In addition, he was "hard-working, thrifty and accustomed to obey orders, and to a lower standard of living than his English counterparts."<sup>4</sup> Consequently, "he was slow to show interest in the aggressive Anglo-American unions which sprang up about the middle of the century."<sup>5</sup> The Church's condemnation of these organizations, as "dangerous secret societies,"<sup>6</sup> was in accord with the traditional individualism and independence of the French-Canadian worker, who was not prepared to stand on the rights of labour if the alternative was the prospect of starvation as a result of not finding a job.<sup>7</sup>

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2      Ls-Laurent Hardy, Brève Histoire Du Syndicalisme Ouvrier Au Canada, (Montreal: Les Editions De L'Hexagone, 1956), p. 17

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3      Mason Wade, The French-Canadians, 1760-1945, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956), p. 338

4

4      Ibid.

5

5      Ibid.

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6      N.J. Ware and H.A. Logan, Labor in Canadian-American Relations, in ibid.

7

7      Ibid.





In the twenty years following 1860, however, a number of factors contributed to the progress of trade unionism. Not the least among them was the coming and going, in both Canada and the United States, of workers from both countries in search of jobs.<sup>8</sup> In 1869, the city of Quebec experienced a strike which was put down by the army, one man being shot and killed.<sup>9</sup> Such incidents, along with less violent, but effective pressures, such as blacklisting, gave rise to a need for secrecy in the workers' organizations. Many unions remained "secret societies" even after the federal parliament's passing the necessary legalizing legislation.

Knights of Labour. Among the best known of such organizations was the Knights of Labour, a group which was particularly successful in its recruiting in Quebec, especially after the lifting of the papal ban, which had been declared at the request of Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec.<sup>10</sup> Originating in the United States, the Knights of Labour included in its membership craft unions as well as those of non-specialized workers, thus making it the forerunner of "industrial" unionism. Important in this organization was the emphasis on political action to repair social wrongs rather than on collective bargaining with individual employers. Strikes would be declared only as a last resort.<sup>11</sup>

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Hardy, op. cit. p. 26

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L. Maltais, o.f.m. Les Syndicats Catholiques Canadiens, 1925, p. 5, in ibid. p. 29.

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Ibid. p. 42.

11

Ibid. p. 41



The similarity between the principles of this organization and those of the confessional syndicates, when they developed, perhaps explains why even after the Knights of Labour officially ceased to exist in 1917, Quebec lodges were slow to disband. One survived until 1935.<sup>12</sup> However, the American Federation of Labour and similar organizations in Canada, such as the Trades and Labour Congress, with their emphasis on collective bargaining, were more generally appealing. In consequence, support of the Knights of Labour diminished until it became non-existent, as had a number of unions at the beginning of the century.

Beginning of Church Support. The last twenty years of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of a stable trade unionism in Canada with, however, the elements of dualism (crafts and industrial unions) which have tended to divide the labour movement throughout its history on this continent. Of particular significance in Quebec during this period was official Roman Catholic support of the principle of unionism. Pelletier comments:

In 1891, Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical letter Rerum novarum, had clearly endorsed the principle of unionism and made it a duty for all Christians to hasten the formation of a labour force. Through the underbrush of interests and prejudices, this impulse could make its way but slowly.<sup>13</sup> (Emphasis not in original).

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Ibid p. 43

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Gérard Pelletier, "Le Syndicalisme canadien-français," in Mason Wade, (editor) Canadian Dualism/La Dualité Canadien, (Toronto and Quebec: University of Toronto Press/ Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), p. 285, 286 (See appendix)





The turn of the century may be thought of as the close of the early period of the history of trade unionism, particularly in the development of the confessional syndicates. In 1901, as a result of arbitration by Archbishop Bégin in a dispute in the shoe industry, the first Quebec unions modified their constitution to fit more closely the Church's social doctrine; at the same time the Church officially supported the workers in their right to organize.<sup>14</sup> Before considering the Church's support, however, it is important to notice the recognition given by many observers to the international unions, as having given the impetus to the trade union movement. One observer believes that the A.F.L. and K. of L. hastened the arrival of unionism by twenty or thirty years.<sup>15</sup>

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATHOLIC SYNDICATES

The Syndicates to 1921. In spite of their modified constitutions, the unions affected by Bishop Bégin's arbitration award continued to form part of the Canadian Federation of Labour, and to admit members of all beliefs.<sup>16</sup> The first exclusively Catholic union was not formed until 1907, after four years of unfruitful efforts by its chaplain-founder, Father Lapointe. Among the reasons for its slow beginning were the workers' suspicion of the chaplain's friendship with one of the leading industrialists of the area, and the fact that it was a

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<sup>14</sup>

Hardy, op. cit. pp. 71,72

<sup>15</sup>

Pelletier. op. cit. p. 286.

<sup>16</sup>

Hardy, op. cit. pp. 72,73



mixed organization of workers and employers. By 1912, its membership in the Chicoutimi area had risen to only 500, comprising four locals under the name of the Fédération Ouvrière Mutuelle du Nord.<sup>17</sup>

Locals of the Trades and Labour Congress having been formed in the same area in 1910, the F. O. M. N. experienced the first inter-union battle with the neutral unions. It emerged with a membership considerably increased, but lost its taint of corporatism, being transformed into a true labour union.<sup>18</sup>

The F. O. M. N. was, however, an isolated example during this period. The major development was the formation of study groups under the leadership of the Catholic Social Action group, founded in 1907, and the Popular Social school, founded in 1911. The clerical leaders of these organizations undertook to educate workers in the Church's social doctrine, and not until 1915 did the work of founding syndicates actually begin.<sup>19</sup>

The initial program was undertaken within the national, neutral unions rather than among the unorganized workers or international unions, and by 1918 some 22 unions had become confessional syndicates,

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17

Ibid. pp. 74, 75

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Ibid. p. 75 (Corporatism is the name given to the movement in which both workers and employers participate.)

19

Ibid. pp. 73, 77





conforming to the Church's social doctrine.<sup>20</sup> Hardy claims that the majority of workers thus organized had already accepted in principle the direction of the Church,<sup>21</sup> but it can be readily understood that the neutral unions affected would resent what to them constituted raiding.

Confessional syndicates gradually increased in number throughout the province organized usually on the initiative of the clergy, but occasionally, as at Hull,<sup>22</sup> through the increasing interest of the workers themselves. The close of the first organizational phase of the development of the syndicates can be marked at this city in 1921, when the 220 delegates of 88 syndicates adopted a constitution approved by the Episcopate, and founded the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (Canadian and Catholic Congress of Labour).<sup>23</sup>

The constitution of the organization declared it as avowedly Catholic, adhering to the social doctrine of the Church, and following always the directives of the Pope and the Canadian bishops. The chaplains are described as having great authority and exercising a decisive influence on the policy of the confederation.<sup>24</sup>

Breadth of Activity and Interest. Resolutions adopted at the

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20

Ibid. pp. 73,74

21

Ibid. p. 73.

22

Ibid. p. 80

23

Ibid. p. 81

24

L. Maltais op. cit. pp. 105,106 in ibid. p. 82



early conventions (1919-1924) of the Congress proposed solutions to a broad range of social, economic, moral and professional problems, including such subjects as excessive war-time profits, divorce laws, condemnation of sympathy strikes, aid to colonization projects, income tax exemptions for children, and a great variety of others.<sup>25</sup>

The emphasis on a non-partisan political program has been an important principle of the syndicates throughout their history. The resemblance to the earlier Knights of Labour has already been pointed out. That the principle is still being followed can be seen in the report of the national office to the 1964 convention of the federation.<sup>26</sup> In the report of representations made to the Federal and Provincial Governments between 1962 and 1964, there appear the following main headings: Economy, Labour Legislation, Social Security, Taxes, Constitutional Affairs, War and Peace, and International Affairs. Summaries of eleven reports under the heading of Economy range from automation to American domination of the Canadian economy. Similar detail appears under the other headings.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE FEDERATION, 1921 - 1942

The second phase of development, according to Hardy, extends from 1921 to 1941 - 42, and is described as a period of realization.<sup>28</sup>

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Ibid. p. 83.

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Rapport Du Bureau Confédéral, Quarante Et Unième Session, Congrès De La Confédération Des Syndicats Nationaux, Québec - Septembre, 1964.

27

Ibid. p. 37

28

Hardy, op. cit. p. 85





Two factors seem to warrant the choice of this date as marking the end of the second phase. The first factor is the successful resistance of the syndicates to a determined recruiting drive by the C.I.O. in the Arvida area; the second is a modification of the constitution, in large part the result of the inter-union struggle which had resulted from the C. I.O.'s drive.

Describing this period as one of limited success, not only for the C.C.C.L. but for the union movement generally, Hardy notes particularly the adverse effects of the depression and of labour legislation.<sup>29</sup> The following paragraph from Hardy's account of the development of trade unions summarizes the important distinctions of the syndicates during this period.

Characteristics of the C.C.C.L. Throughout the years 1921 - 42, the support of French-Canadian nationalist elements, the solicitude and even the monetary support of religious authorities continued to be received by the catholic, national union movement, as was the support of a certain number of employers of various nationalities who preferred to the neutral unions, national or international, a C.C.C.L. discreet and modest in its demands, a C.C.C.L. for which the strike was the last resort in case of conflict, and who took upon itself, as if it were a duty, to spend as much of its energy in fighting the confessional battle against the neutral unions as in the well-being of the workers.<sup>30</sup>

In examining or exemplifying the statements in this general description, one can see the nature of the syndicate movement, and in certain characteristics, the causes of hostility on the part of

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29

Ibid. p. 86

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Ibid. p. 87 (See appendix)



other unions. In view of the earlier discussion of nationalism, it is perhaps necessary only to point out the obvious sympathy nationalists would have for a movement based on the doctrines of the Church and opposed to the domination of French-Canadian workers by the Anglo-American protestant union movement.

Influence of the Clergy. It was noted earlier that individual members of the clergy held conflicting attitudes towards the syndicates. In contrast to the support mentioned by Hardy, the following statement must be considered.

It is true, however, that many priests involved in the movement had a tendency to make of it inoffensive study groups, and that the chaplains influenced it originally with a warped and excessive authority. One single example: the unanimity of the clerics from the foundation of the C.C.C.L. in keeping out of the constitution a strike fund, under the pretext that such a fund would invite social disorder.<sup>31</sup>

Commenting on a sermon given by one Sorel priest during the Sorel strike of 1937, Jean Francoeur says: "It certainly requires a genius to accumulate in so few words all the sophisms that social conservatism has been able to invent to check the development of the working-class movement."<sup>32</sup>

By contrast, the constant support of the other local priests, among whom was the chaplain of the syndicates involved, is noteworthy.<sup>33</sup>

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Pelletier, op. cit. p. 288 (See appendix)

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Jean Marchand et. al. En Grève, (Montreal: Les Editions du Jour, 1963), p. 86

33

Ibid. p. 85





To help those who had acquired serious debts during the strike, the chaplain persuaded the priests of the district to guarantee a loan which would pay off the debts. The repayment of the loan was to be made from the revenue received "from all the candles burned in the churches of Sorel during the following years."<sup>34</sup>

In the face of such contrasting testimony, it is difficult to evaluate the over-all result of clerical influence during this period. Commenting on the participation of Cardinal Villeneuve in the Dominion Textile strike of 1937, Jamieson associates the Cardinal's conciliation measures with the decline of membership in the syndicate involved, from 13,000 in 1937 to 642 in 1940.<sup>35</sup> Jean-Paul Lefebvre is far from enthusiastic about the Cardinal's stand, commenting that the least one can say is that he avoided too categoric a support of the union thesis.<sup>36</sup> The effect of the depression on union membership must not be ignored, however. Decrease in membership in unions across the country was common throughout the decade ending in 1940. Only in the years 1936 and 1937 were substantial gains recorded.<sup>37</sup>

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34

Ibid. p. 95

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Stuart Jamieson, "Labour Unity in Quebec" in Wade, Canadian Dualism, op. cit. footnote 10, pp. 297, 298.

36

Marchand, et al, op. cit. p. 40

37

Hardy, op. cit. p. 141. The following percentage changes over the preceding year are listed:

1931 - 3.7	1936 +15.0
1932 - 8.8	1937 +19.0
1933 + 0.9	1938 - 0.5
1934 - 1.6	1939 - 5.9
1935 - 0.2	1940 - 0.9



Provincial Government. In this same dispute, the attitude of the government towards unionism provoked complaints from the syndicate members. Mr. Duplessis resorted to statements referring to his authority, and denying unions any authority.<sup>38</sup> The Minister of Labour of the province, after appearing sympathetic, followed the authority of his Prime Minister.<sup>39</sup> The government further annoyed the workers in May, 1938 when the contract was due for renegotiation. By special ordinance, wages were fixed at the level already being paid. The opportunity for negotiation was thus denied. This decision led to a spontaneous strike, marked by some violence, but lasting only three days, and having more success than the prolonged struggle of the preceding year.<sup>40</sup> The syndicate also protested the use of provincial police to protect the strikebreakers, a technique the provincial government was to use frequently to defeat the workers and support the employers.<sup>41</sup>

The struggles of the year 1937 were not typical of the syndicates' activity throughout the period, however. In fact, of 507 strikes which occurred in Quebec between 1915 and 1936, the Catholic syndicates were responsible for only nine.<sup>42</sup> Even as late as 1963, Marchand stated that of the more than 600 unions affiliated with the movement only four

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<sup>38</sup> Marchand et al. op. cit., p. 35

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 88

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 47

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 48 - 51

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 88





or five a year, on the average, resort to strikes.<sup>43</sup>

Inter-union conflict. Of the inter-union struggles of the period, Hardy states simply that they were one of the salient features of the time.<sup>44</sup> Some responsibility can be attributed to both the syndicates and the neutral unions. The syndicates were concerned with protecting the working class from the menace of communism,<sup>45</sup> a doctrine to which the other unions were frequently accused of being sympathetic. The national and international trade unions were concerned with protecting their own members from a Quebec that could "become the home of runaway mills and industries."<sup>46</sup> The syndicates were at a disadvantage when bargaining with the national and international industries, since they were "generally local and at best only provincial groups."<sup>47</sup> The national and international unions on the other hand failed to adapt to French-Canadian conditions, thus aggravating the nationalist tendencies of the French-Canadian workers' organizations.

The greatest intensity in the inter-union struggle was reached during the early years of the second world war, with concentrated efforts by the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. in various parts of the province.

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43

Ibid. p. 12

44

Hardy, op. cit. p. 87

45

Ibid. p. 86

46

Wade, The French-Canadians, op. cit. p. 969

47

Ibid.



Wade reports that a C.I.O. drive in the Dominion Textile Company plant at Magog was broken up by the syndicate chaplain, "who received a salary as chaplain of the company-supported hospital and whose father enjoyed a company pension."<sup>48</sup> An intensive campaign by the A.F.L. in the aluminum industry in the Lake St. John region, scene of the first inter-union battle thirty years before, was resisted by the provincial government and by the clergy. When a Jewish organizer "was replaced by an Irish Catholic organizer, 'foreign Catholics' were denounced from the pulpit along with the international unions."<sup>49</sup>

Jamieson attributes much of the success of the syndicates in resisting organizing campaigns by the other unions to the fact that the "Catholic Confederation devoted far more time, money, and personnel to education or indoctrination than to organization as such."<sup>50</sup> The education service of the syndicates has received major emphasis in its programme since the initiation of the movement in the early study groups. Evidence that the education service is still of prime importance will be seen in the discussion of the period following 1941-42.

Company Unions. There was, however, another important factor which influenced the outcome of this struggle: the policy of the

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48

Ibid. p. 978

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Ibid. p. 976

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Jamieson, op. cit. p. 296





Aluminum Company of Canada. At Arvida, ALCAN created a company town, even to the designation of the name, with model housing plans developed by American architects, in fact a town completely based on American concepts. When the company realized that this did not suit its French-Canadian employees, it revised its policy. There was no altruism in this, but enlightened self-interest. Among the factors which had attracted the company to the Lake St. John region was a supply of cheap and docile labour. Company officials feared that this advantage might be lost if the international unions forced wages up to the same level as those in American plants.<sup>51</sup>

The following extract from Wade is given at length as an example of a company's use of the syndicates, and the acceptance of this situation by the syndicates. The attitudes of both company and unions are easily understood, yet it can be seen why the neutral unions would resent the condition:

The international's agitation was unsuccessful because the workers recognized that the company had given them wages, working, and living conditions which were scarcely to be matched in Canada; and because the company made a policy of catering to French-Canadian particularism. Not only were 92 per cent of the Arvida workers French-Canadians, but the company employed as many French-Canadian technicians and executives as it could find....

(The company) displayed a paternalism which sometimes misfired and irritated French-Canadian individualism. It revised its model

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Wade op. cit. pp. 976, 977. Wade reports a claim by C.I.O. organizers that Arvida wages were 40 to 60 percent lower than those in the aluminum industry in the United States, despite 20 to 40 percent cheaper production costs. Ibid. p. 1019





housing plans to suit French-Canadian tastes; it rented or sold houses or land at less than cost; it planted trees and encouraged gardens; it established a vast indoor recreation centre for the winter months and sports facilities for the summer ones; it provided a newspaper, a hospital, and schools, and contributed heavily to the building of churches. When the politically minded French-Canadians missed the sport of elections, it added an elected town council to the city manager system it had established. In the industry itself it required its English-speaking employees to learn and to use French;....<sup>52</sup> (Emphasis not in the original)

To conclude this description Wade points out that, after the 1941 strike when the management was in the hands of men who "understood and respected the French-Canadian idea," the company had no further serious difficulty. It was even able to enrol volunteers on Christmas Day 1943 to unload a shipment of frozen bauxite.<sup>53</sup> In an interview with me in the summer of 1965, the French-Canadian assistant personnel manager at the Alma plant described extensions to the policy which make ALCAN a "benevolent" employer. In spite of these policies he reported that the local population still thinks in terms of, "When it rains, it's ALCAN's fault."

#### DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1942

Rapid industrial development during the war favoured the growth of the union movement throughout Canada, membership more than doubling between 1939 and 1944 to a total of 724, 188.<sup>54</sup> In Quebec the neutral unions gained more than the syndicates, but the members of the

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Ibid. pp. 976, 977

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Ibid. p. 977

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Hardy, op. cit. pp. 141, 142





syndicates, having enjoyed a greater prosperity than ever before were "increasingly eager for the same standard of living" as that enjoyed by Canadian and American workers generally.<sup>55</sup> The increased emphasis on a higher standard of living has undoubtedly affected the programme of the syndicates, making them more aggressive than in earlier years.

One important outcome of syndicate activity has been the tendency of French-Canadian Catholic workers to identify themselves with other workers rather than with other French-Canadians. Through his trade union activity, the French-Canadian worker "has come to formulate, in his own language and with his own concepts, the problems and solutions for his particular milieu."<sup>56</sup>

Breadth of Activity and Interest. Much of the responsibility for the development of social class consciousness among workers must be credited to the syndicates' emphasis on a broad program of union activity rather than on collective bargaining. As president of the syndicate movement, Jean Marchand emphasized that the trade union movement is not only concerned with economic interests, but in transforming the whole of society.<sup>57</sup> To transform society requires political action including political education of members, representation to

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Wade, The French Canadians, op. cit. p. 1100

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Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, La grève de l'amiante, (Montreal: Editions de Cité Libre, 1956), p. 31 in Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux, "Social Classes in French Canada", in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, French-Canadian Society, Vol. 1. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964) p. 311

57

Jean Marchand, 'L'unité syndicale et la C.S.N.' in Relations Industrielles (Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval) Vol. 16 No. 2 April 1961, pp. 267-269.





public bodies and publicity to enlighten public opinion, but political action is not to be through the formation of a workers' party or through affiliation with a specific party.<sup>58</sup> The report to the 1964 convention of the federation illustrates the breadth of interest shown by the syndicates in matters outside the collective agreement.

The same report also shows the emphasis continuing to be placed on the education of syndicate members. One report describes the federation's extensive action in complying with a request from the International Labour Office for assistance in helping workers in equatorial Africa develop a union movement. Of the 156 pages in the whole document, the report of the education director requires forty pages.<sup>59</sup> In one of its pamphlets the federation explains the importance of the education service as lying in "the impossibility of fully living democracy if its members are not prepared and informed".<sup>60</sup>

The democracy referred to includes not only the broad context of democracy in the various levels of government in which the worker may participate, but also the structure of the federation itself. The principles on which the federation is based accord to both individual members, and unions which form the federation, a liberty and autonomy

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Fernand Jolicoeur and Jean-Paul Lefebvre, L'Initiation A L'Action Syndicale, (Quebec and Montreal: Service D'Education de la Confédération Des Syndicale Nationaux, 1961), pp. 132,133.

59

Rapport Du Bureau Confédéral, 1964, op. cit. pp. 89-129

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Ce Qu'Est La C.S.N., pamphlet published by the C.S.N. (C.N.T.U.)





which require that the organizations serve the individual member.<sup>61</sup>  
 Since Quebec has about 75 independent unions -- five times as many as Ontario,<sup>62</sup> it may be thought that no other form of organization would suit the French-Canadian worker, independent and individualistic as he is known to be. The experience of democracy within his syndicate has assuredly been carried by the worker into the broader political scene. During the Duplessis regime, the C.N.T.U. was at the same time one of the most vociferous opponents and a major target of attack of the supposedly nationalistic regime.<sup>63</sup>

Syndicates and Strikes. A modification, if not a complete change, in the characteristics of the syndicates has occurred in their attitude towards strikes. Since 1936 the number of strikes called by the syndicates has been much greater than in the years before that date. In the year 1951, fifteen are reported.<sup>64</sup> Many of the strikes from 1937 on have been concerned, wholly or in part with the right of workers to join unions.<sup>65</sup> As attempts are made to extend unionism to other workers, the struggle for the right to organize continues. In the summer of 1966 a school principal was dismissed because, according to the complaint laid by the teachers' association before the provincial

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 2 - 6

<sup>62</sup>Jean Francoeur, "Trade Unionism in Quebec," Quebec Yearbook (Québec: Department of Industry and Commerce, 1963), p. 439

<sup>63</sup>Jamieson, op. cit., p. 299

<sup>64</sup>Hardy, op. cit., p. 88

<sup>65</sup>En Grève, op. cit., p. 10 et passim. Five strikes are described and reference made to others which occurred between 1937 and 1959.



Labour Relations Board, he engaged in union activities.<sup>66</sup>

A measure of the success of the syndicates in maintaining their right to organize and, if necessary, to strike is seen in the changed attitude of governments towards strikes. Neither the Liberal government under Lesage, nor the Union Nationale government under Johnson, took legal action to force the professional civil servants or the hospital employees to return to work in the summer of 1966, despite the fact that both strikes had been termed illegal by official government sources.<sup>67</sup>

The Asbestos Strike. A landmark in the new militant policy of the syndicates is the asbestos strike of 1949. The asbestos strike revealed the syndicates' determination to support demands for adequate wages; it showed the solidarity of other syndicates with the striking workers; it revealed to the neutral unions a new militant syndicate movement to which they accorded their respect and support.<sup>68</sup> The asbestos strike was also a landmark because it called forth the Church's support of the union against employers and the provincial government, after the Minister of Labour had declared the strike illegal and the Labour Relations Board had decertified the union.<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Maurice

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<sup>66</sup> Le Soleil, Quebec, 9 July, 1966 p. 13. The teachers' association is not, however, a member or affiliate of the C.N.T.U. (C.S.N.)

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 24 and 14 May 1966 p. 2

<sup>68</sup> Ce Qu'Est La C.S.N. op. cit., p. 1

<sup>69</sup> Jamieson op. cit., p. 300





Roy's successful mediation to terminate the four month long conflict carried no taint of defeat as had the intervention of Cardinal Villeneuve in the Dominion Textile strike of 1937.

Leadership in Recent Years. Apart from the changed attitude of the workers, increased membership and funds to support strike action, and the increased support of the clergy, a significant reason advanced for the new militancy is the quality of leadership in the federation since 1942. A number of officers have been idealistic men, often graduates of the Social Sciences department of the University of Laval. Among the latter, Cousineau selects one as of particular importance: Jean Marchand.<sup>70</sup>

Associated with the movement since 1942, Marchand, in 1947 became part of a team with Gérard Picard. Elected respectively to the posts of secretary and president, they gave a new appearance, a new impetus to the C.C.C.L. and to syndicalism in Quebec.<sup>71</sup> After his election as president in 1961, Marchand continued to exert his influence both within the union movement and in the wider field of activities which included membership in the federal royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism.<sup>72</sup>

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Jacques Cousineau s. j. "Réflexions Sur La Grève A Radio-Canada," in Relations, 220 (Montreal: April 1959), pp. 87 - 90

71

Jean Marchand, "Un Syndicalisme Dynamique Pour Une Epoque De Transformation," in the introduction to this reprint by the C.N.T.U. (C.S.N.) of an interview between Marchand and Jean-Marc Léger, first published in Le Devoir, 27 January, 1964.

72

Ibid.



Church Influence. A member of the Jesuit order, Jacques Cousineau illustrates the Church's support of the union movement. In a published article he quotes Pope Pius XII as supporting the issue over which the Radio-Canada strike was called - the right of management personnel to form unions.<sup>73</sup> A description of the Dupuis Brothers' strike in 1952, just seven years earlier, mentions the difficulties encountered by the syndicates at the hands of "certain members of the clergy," as well as a sort of "entente" between the company and the clergy.<sup>74</sup> This complaint is not elaborated in the description which follows it, nor is there reference to clerical interference in the Louiseville strike of the same year, or in the Radio-Canada strike of 1959.

Changed Government Attitudes. In the Louiseville strike (Associated Textiles), the syndicates' loss is plainly attributed to a "government-employer conspiracy."<sup>75</sup> Syndicates have frequently complained about such conspiracies. Discussing the Asbestos strike, Dofny and Rioux comment that up to that time:

"there was always collusion between, on the one hand, the politicians, the French-Canadian middle-class businessmen, and certain members of the High Clergy and, on the other, the non-French-Canadian middle-class businessmen and politicians."<sup>76</sup>

The attitude of provincial governments in 1966 appears to have

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Cousineau, loc. cit.

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En Grève, op. cit. pp. 102 and 104

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Ibid. p. 177

76

Dofny and Rioux, op. cit. p. 311





changed to one of acceptance of a less active role. Some opinions expressed privately and publicly indicate a wish for governments to "legislate by force" if necessary, in order to avoid the conflicts which seem to be occurring in epidemic-like fashion not only in Quebec, but throughout Canada.<sup>77</sup>

That the clergy have helped to bring about the change was noted in the discussion of the Asbestos strike. Apart from exerting influence in the ranks of government itself, however, their example and their teaching influence the layman, who in turn exerts his influence in the election of politicians whom he expects to fulfil his expectations.

The clerical attitude towards the neutral unions has also undergone a radical change, at least among many members of the clergy. In 1945, neutral unions were described in the following terms by a prominent member of the clergy, "Communism glides in their shadow like a snake. Such unions stir up the workers against their employers, against religion, and against the clergy."<sup>78</sup> By contrast, ten years later, Father Gérard Dion concluded an article on the neutral unions by saying that he could not see to which article of the statement of principles of the C.C.C.L. they could not subscribe, that they follow a

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For example: Roger Cyr. "Feu le bon sens", editorial in La Patrie, 26 June 1966, p. 17.

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Mgr. C - E Parent, in Wade, The French Canadians, op. cit. p. 1019



similar orientation which the Church advocates for the syndicates, and that they do not entice their members away from their religious convictions.<sup>79</sup>

Changes in Confessionality. Related to the change in the influence of the clergy is the change in confessionality of the syndicates, for such changes occurred only in close cooperation with the Episcopacy of Quebec.<sup>80</sup> Four distinct factors identify the syndicates: the word "Catholic" was included in the name of all unions, members of or affiliated to the C.C.C.L.; membership was open only to professing Catholics; each union was required to have a chaplain; the constitution required adherence to the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Chartier observes that all these conditions were fulfilled in 1921, the year of the formation of the federation. By 1929, however, it was noted that some syndicates, particularly in the centres of Montreal and Quebec, included non-Catholics among their members.

Under the pressure of the progress made by "union adversaries" in the early years of the second World War, the constitution was amended in 1943 to permit all unions to open membership to non-Catholics. For reasons to be outlined later, one union introduced, at the 1956 annual

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Gérard Dion, Ad Usum Sacerdotum, March, April, May 1955, p. 122 in Hardy, op. cit. p. 147

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Roger Chartier, "Chronologie de l'évolution confessionnelle de la C.T.C.C. (C.S.N.)" in Relations Industrielles, Vol. 16, No. 1. January 1961, pp. 105, 106. The following outline is based on this article.





convention, a resolution proposing two steps towards non-confessional unions. The first was to omit the word "Catholic" from their names; the second was to refer in the constitution to humane and Christian ideals rather than to the social doctrines of the Church. The resulting vote favoured the name change, but referred the subject of confessionality to a committee. At the 1958 convention there was further reference to a committee for study. In 1959 the executive recommended omitting from union names the word "Catholic" and striking out of the constitution reference to the Church's social doctrine, but maintaining in the organization the position of chaplain.

After consultation with the Archbishop and bishops of Quebec, and in spite of opposition from former chaplains, the federation received confirmation from the Church that its statement of principles was sufficiently close to social doctrine. With this support, the 1960 convention voted almost unanimously to drop the word "Catholic", and to refer to "Christian principles" rather than to the social doctrine of the Church. Chaplains, however, are retained in the organization, but as "moral advisers" only.<sup>81</sup> Affiliated member organizations are required to adhere to C.N.T.U. principles, which

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<sup>81</sup>Histoire Du Syndicalisme Au Canada, pamphlet of the C.N.T.U. (C.S.N.) Education Service, p. 16. Recent publications are sometimes printed in both English and French. The English and French abbreviations for the federation appear as part of the crest. The names in full are the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Confédération Des Syndicats Nationaux.



include a clause proclaiming rights of membership, without discrimination because of race, nationality, sex, language or religion.<sup>82</sup> In a report on the changes at the convention, Jean Marchand emphasized that the need for change was not anti-religious, but for the welfare of the workers.<sup>83</sup>

The "Welfare of the workers" must be considered in relation to the objective of the organization: to make unionism serve a wider purpose than that of a mere bargaining agent demanding a bigger slice of the "capitalist cake."<sup>84</sup> Marchand envisages the future of unionism as surpassing the functions of bargaining and self-preservation to becoming the "instrument by which the workers will define the democracy of tomorrow and contribute to the building of the society of tomorrow."<sup>85</sup>

Added to this idealistic view is a practical reason for change: the right of the C.N.T.U. to represent the workers. Since Canadian law recognizes only one union in each plant as the bargaining agent for all workers, it is necessary for the C.N.T.U. to enrol a majority of the workers in each plant. It is believed that this will be easier to do if the syndicates are non-confessional. This factor becomes increasingly important in view of the present trend toward negotiations at the level of industry rather than of individual plants.<sup>86</sup> In the

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<sup>82</sup> Chartier, op. cit., p. 106

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Marchand, "Un Syndicalisme Dynamique Pour Une Epoque De Transformation," op. cit. pages not numbered.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. Concluding paragraph

<sup>86</sup> Qu'Est-Ce Que La CSN? op. cit., p. 5





case of the Aluminum Company of Canada, for example, Quebec workers and their unions would be part of a bargaining unit including members in Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia.

Recent Expansion. Although there are other reasons for the recent increase in membership in the C.N.T.U. it is since 1960, the date of the major confessional changes, that the syndicates have experienced remarkable gains in numerical strength. The 1964 convention heard a report that membership in four years had risen from 94,114 to 141,168, an increase of 50 per cent.<sup>87</sup> These figures did not include the thousands of civil servants in the employ of the Quebec Government, who, although not affiliated with the C.N.T.U., have service agreements with the organization.<sup>88</sup>

A strengthening of organizational staff is mentioned as another reason for increase in membership. The Financial Post, in reporting this information, points out that gains are not confined to Quebec, but reach into Eastern Ontario and New Brunswick as well.<sup>89</sup>

The feeling of liberty engendered by the change of government in 1960, coinciding as it did with "deconfessionalization," is claimed to have given the C.N.T.U. added attraction, particularly among white

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Rapport Du Bureau Confédéral, op. cit. p. 3

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Ibid. p. 3 and p. 6.

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"Jodoin Has Wary Eye on Nationalists," Financial Post, 57, Sept. 28, 1963, p. 24



collar workers.<sup>90</sup> The federation itself claims that with the affiliation to the C.N.T.U. of three syndicates of professional engineers it was the first organization to bring members of the professions into the union movement.<sup>91</sup>

Social Class Consciousness Reviewed. The surge of nationalist sentiment in the province in recent years has also added to the appeal of the primarily French-speaking syndicates. Since it was stated earlier that the Quebec worker showed a tendency to identify himself with other workers, Canadian and American, rather than with other social classes in Quebec, some explanation of this apparent contradiction is required.

Dofny and Rioux observe that "during the period 1945 to 1958 social class consciousness became more evident within French-Canada as the ethnic-class consciousness has regained ascendancy".<sup>92</sup> They attribute this change to the lack of strong French-Canadian representation in the Diefenbaker government, and the consequent decision of the French-Canadian labour movement that it must solve its problems in Quebec by concentrating on the struggle against Duplessis. Coupled with this reason is the taste developed during prosperous times for

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<sup>90</sup>Evelyn Dumas - Gagnon, "Pourquoi des unions internationales?" Le Magazine Maclean, Vol. 5. No. 11. Nov. 1965, p. 26.

<sup>91</sup>Qu'Est-Ce Que La CSN? op. cit. p. 3

<sup>92</sup>Dofny and Rioux, op. cit. p. 312





the higher standard of living enjoyed, and consequent resentment of Anglo-American domination of the economy. Thus, many workers who might have joined the international unions during this period of general expansion, have turned instead to their "own" syndicates. The Financial Post report, referred to earlier, concludes with the following statement, "Union observers in Montreal say C.N.T.U. officials have avoided using French-Canadian nationalism as an organizing tool. But the temptation is there and is alluring at local levels...."<sup>93</sup>

Inter-Union Relations. Some part of C.N.T.U. expansion has been at the expense of other unions in various industries. A report in February 1966 cites the cases of C.B.C. stagehands and cameramen, as well as C.B.C. newsmen in Montreal. Each group is seeking to be represented by the C.N.T.U. instead of the international unions already recognized as bargaining agent by the Canada Labour Relations Board. The same report forecast that the "railway unions are a further target."<sup>94</sup>

The Canadian Labour Congress believes that the forecast was accurate. In early June the Congress published a more than half page newspaper advertisement referring to a spontaneous strike which had

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<sup>93</sup> Financial Post, loc. cit.

<sup>94</sup> Don McGillivray, "Government Embarrassed As Unions Battle For Quebec Labor Allegiance," Edmonton Journal, 18 February, 1966, p. 2



occurred at the C.N.R. works at Pointe St. Charles in Montreal. The following are extracts from the advertisement.

Some irresponsible people...false rumours...falsehoods...an attempt to divide national unity...  
...a manoeuvre by a rival union... The rival union is using some of your fellow workers and is paying them...MORE THAN EVER WE MUST REMAIN UNITED... FROM ONE OCEAN TO THE OTHER.<sup>95</sup>

As a reply to the accusations of the C.L.C., the C.N.T.U. invited journalists to discuss the matter with the workers themselves rather than have the C.N.T.U. enter into a "war of paper" by replying to each press release of the C.L.C. A spokesman for the workers reported that they had been dissatisfied for several years with the machinists' international union, that a group of them approached the C.N.T.U., and that in one day 192 of 216 employees signed membership cards in the C.N.T.U.<sup>96</sup>

As in the early days of the inter-union conflicts, there appears to be right on both sides. In view of nationalist feeling in recent years, "dissatisfaction" with the international unions can be imagined. Whether the change in allegiance of the workers was spontaneous or resulted from persuasion by C.N.T.U. organizers, only those involved can know. Even if C.N.T.U. organizers were responsible it is impossible for the outsider to decide that their persuasion was right or wrong.

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Le Soleil, Quebec: 4 June, 1966, p. 32 (Capitals in original)

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Le Devoir, 20 June, 1966, p. 6





However, the C.L.C. accusations can be understood. For them too, from "one ocean to the other" is a slogan which represents strength in bargaining with national employers.

Unfortunately, not all conflicts are restricted to battles of words. In April of 1966 "physical clashes" occurred in Montreal as C.N.T.U. members tried to prevent the majority C.L.C. workers from returning to work.<sup>97</sup> According to observers, Jean Lesage was referring to rival pulp and paper unions in the Lake St. John region when he appealed to the unions to call a halt to the rivalry which he claimed is most often the cause of violence.<sup>98</sup>

It seems to me that a great part of the resources expended on recruiting among other unions might be better directed toward the two thirds or three quarters of the work force who still remain outside the trade union movement.<sup>99</sup> The C.N.T.U. is demonstrating a particular interest in the service industries and public bodies, in which its former president feels the future of unionism lies.<sup>100</sup>

Inter-Union Cooperation. A more effective concentration of effort might be possible if a spirit of cooperation existed between the two major union groups in Quebec. Occasional demonstrations of

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Tim Creery, "Inter-Union Violence Appears On Quebec Labor Scene," Edmonton Journal, 15 April, 1966, p. 64

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Le Soleil, Quebec, 14 May, 1966. p. 1

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The Quebec Yearbook, 1964 (p. 443) estimates one third of eligible workers are union members. Marchand in the reprinted Le Devoir interview already quoted estimates 25 per cent.

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Marchand, (C.S.N. reprint of Le Devoir interview) op. cit.



solidarity have been recorded, such as in the Asbestos strike of 1949,<sup>182</sup> the Dupuis Frères strike of 1952 and the Radio-Canada strike of 1959.<sup>101</sup> Such support usually shows itself only during time of conflict when the threat or reward is to the union movement generally. The Radio-Canada strike, for example, had the objective of opening a new field of unionism, that of workers in supervisory or managerial ranks.<sup>102</sup>

For some years, however, discussions have been undertaken between representatives of the C.L.C. and C.N.T.U., with a view to reaching a clearly defined relationship between the two groups. Deconfessionalization has helped the C.N.T.U. in this objective. At the 1956 convention of the Catholic federation, a resolution calling for affiliation with the C.L.C. received an overwhelming majority vote in its favour.<sup>103</sup>

Commenting on the possible outcome of a merger, Jamieson points out that although the C.L.C. has greater numbers and bargaining power, the C.N.T.U. has a "special status in many Quebec communities", and, perhaps more important, "a large corps of unusually able and dynamic French-speaking executives and professional leaders...." These people he believes would make up for deficiencies both in policy and personnel among C.L.C. unions.<sup>104</sup>

There are a number of practical problems which would be difficult to solve, but perhaps most important is the ideological difference.

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101

Trudeau, op. cit. and En Grève op. cit. p. 119 and p. 209

102

Ibid. p. 209

103

Hardy, op. cit. p. 134

104

Jamieson, op. cit. p. 302





The C.N.T.U. still adheres strongly to Christian principles, and in order to preserve this distinction, feels that it can affiliate with the C.L.C. only as an independent national federation.<sup>105</sup> Because of overlapping jurisdiction, as in the metalworkers' unions for example, it is unlikely that progress towards affiliation will be very rapid. To have two unions, independent yet affiliated, in one plant appears entirely impractical.

Relative Bargaining Power. In spite of continuing efforts to reach a recognized status of affiliation, hostility towards the international unions has regained intensity in recent years.<sup>106</sup> From the viewpoint of the worker and his bargaining strength, this hostility is of questionable value. In spite of the recent success of the C.N.T.U. in its recruiting drives, it is doubtful whether the organization is strong enough to face companies with international power like General Motors Corporation, for example, which has plants in European countries as well as North America.<sup>107</sup>

The United Metalworkers of America, in which Quebec is an independent district electing its own director, spent five million dollars to organize the workers in the mines in northern Quebec.<sup>108</sup>

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Jean Marchand, Relations Industrielles, op. cit. p. 269

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Dumas-Gagnon, op. cit. p. 26

107

Ibid.

108

Ibid. p. 66



Whether the C.N.T.U. with about 140,000 members can afford to spend such sums of money is doubtful, Jean Gérin-Lajoie, director of the metalworkers, points out that policies affecting workers on Quebec's North Shore are decided by employers who receive their directives from big American steel works, and asks what could these workers do without ties with the same plants. He feels that only by participating in North American organizations can the Quebec worker expect to have any influence on the management of "the North American condition."<sup>109</sup>

With such considerations in mind, the C.N.T.U. will no doubt continue to seek means of effective cooperation with the neutrals even if local disputes arise. In the future, as national and international industries expand in Canada, the smallness and provincial nature of the C.N.T.U. will necessitate such a policy, if it is to survive the opposition of both industry and the national and international unions.

Nor is it to the C.N.T.U. alone that such a policy would be an advantage. It has been reported that 150,000 of the 200,000 Quebec members of C.L.C. unions are in the Montreal area.<sup>110</sup> C.L.C. representation throughout the rest of the province is therefore quite limited. Yet it is in the rest of the province that the primary industries are to be found. In addition, both federations recognize

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Ibid.

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Ibid. p. 64





that two thirds to three quarters of eligible workers are still entirely outside the union movement.

Whatever the future of the C.N.T.U. in relation to the national and international unions, the union movement generally will continue to have a strong influence in Quebec society. An observation made twenty years ago is even more valid today. At that time Wade said: "the day of commercial exploitation of Quebec under the principle of as much as possible for master-race management and as little as possible for subject-race people has passed...."<sup>111</sup>

In the words of Father Henri Masson, chaplain to the mine workers' federation meeting at Asbestos in 1966, "Unionism will never disappear... it permits a human being to be respected in his dignity, and prevents unwarranted exploitation of the worker."<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>

Mason Wade, The French-Canadian Outlook, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, second printing 1965), p. 62.

<sup>112</sup>

Le Soleil, Quebec: 18 June, 1966.



## CHAPTER VII

### EDUCATION

This discussion of education in Quebec will centre on the most striking feature of the education system: the constant and rapid changes taking place at all levels from kindergarten to university. Two factors in the main have brought about the need for change. One factor is the particular way in which the education system of the province has developed up to the present time. The second factor, common to many areas, is the conditions which have arisen since the second world war: increase in school population, relative economic affluence, rapid technological advances, and the increase in knowledge. Conditions arising from the first of these factors have aggravated the problems brought about by the second.

Current developments are based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education sanctioned by the Quebec Legislature in March of 1961.<sup>1</sup> This discussion, therefore, will be based

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1963) Part 1. p. viii. Popularly known as the Parent Report, after the name of the commission chairman, The Right Reverend Alphonse-Marie Parent, Vice-Rector of Laval University, the report, in five volumes totalling 1445 pages, was not completely published until May of 1966. The English version of the last two volumes is not expected until later this year. The first three volumes have been so widely read that a pocket book edition has been authorized for publication, according to a statement of the Minister of Education reported in Education Weekly, Vol. 2. No. 30. 3 December, 1965, p. 211.





on that report, its recommendations, subsequent developments, and reactions to them.

The Parent Report distinguishes five periods in the history of the development of education in the province.<sup>2</sup> As a basis for consideration of the present scene, each of these periods will be discussed very briefly in order to identify the most striking features. Attention will be drawn particularly to ideas or situations which have been carried through to the contemporary period.

The French Regime, 1608 to 1760.<sup>3</sup> Education under the French regime was a work of charity undertaken by the Church. A few elementary schools were scattered throughout the rural regions, usually under the auspices of members of religious orders. As early as 1635 secondary education in the form of courses in theology, chart making and surveying were offered, principally in Quebec City. These courses, also, were organized and offered by the clergy.

State aid was chiefly in the form of seignorial grants, "the exploitation of which could yield substantial revenues". Royal subsidies were "often generous, but irregular. Thus a tradition of private initiative became firmly established, with the clergy and religious communities carrying most of the burden..."<sup>4</sup> Private initiative is one of the principles which has remained a permanent part of the thinking

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid. P. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 3. The description of this period is based on this section of the report.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. (Emphasis not in the original.)





of many Quebeckers about education. It explains, in part at least, the current opposition by some clergy and laymen to the integration of the classical colleges into the public system of education.

Attempts to Bring Schools Under Civil Authority, 1760-1841.<sup>5</sup>

Education organized by private initiative continued through the early part of this period, with the Anglican Church sharing the responsibility with the Roman Catholic Church. However, without its royal subsidies, the Church experienced difficulty in maintaining the institutions which it had sponsored. Schools under the sponsorship of both religious groups operated almost exclusively in the towns, leaving the rural population without education facilities except in a few convents. Little state help was extended to either French or English-speaking colonists. It is reported that in 1827, "seventy-eight thousand out of eighty-seven thousand signatures on a petition against the Dalhousie government were affixed in the form of crosses".

Attempts by the government to establish a centralized education system either failed completely, as they did in 1787, or met with little success, as with the establishment of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning in 1801 and the Fabrique Schools Act of 1824. Areas which were predominantly protestant utilized the legislation of 1801, but Roman Catholics feared the authority of the governor, and few took advantage of the legislation. The absence of government aid, as well as the general apathy, and lack of local revenues prevented the

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-8





establishment of more than a few schools under the control of the fabriques.

The Act for the Encouragement of Elementary Education, passed in 1829, provided for locally elected administrators and for government subsidies. Control by the legislature was assured by the submission of an annual report "certified by the member of the Assembly from (the) constituency" in which schools were located.<sup>6</sup> The importance of the legislative member in local political affairs can be seen in this requirement of the Act.

During this period, three principles appeared to be developing. First is the responsibility of the State in educational matters. Second is the change from central to local control. Third, and most distinctive to Quebec, is the diversity of educational institutions. They included private and public schools, schools under church and lay direction, schools following the tradition of the classical colleges and those following English or American Loyalist traditions. "A spirit of independence and even of individualism was coming to the fore which in later years was to have a profound effect on the school system of the Province."<sup>7</sup>

Between 1836 and 1841, with political conditions unsettled, no government aid was accorded the schools, with the result that many of them closed their doors. There were, however, studies of education whose findings paved the way for legislation which was to provide the

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<sup>6</sup>

Ibid., p. 6 (emphasis not in the original.)

<sup>7</sup>

Ibid., p. 7. (emphasis not in the original.)



framework for the system as it has continued until the creation of the Department of Education in 1964.<sup>8</sup>

Foundations Laid for the Next 100 Years, 1841-1867.<sup>9</sup> Legislation during this period established the "dominant characteristics of administrative and financial policy in public education..."<sup>10</sup> Four major fields of development are identified: "the gradual working out of an administrative system at the highest level; the creation of responsible bodies at the local level; the financing of educational institutions; (and) differing religious beliefs".<sup>11</sup> It seems more appropriate to follow the organization of the Parent Report and discuss these four topics in turn, rather than to follow a chronological account of the legislation that was passed.

Although the Education Act of 1841 authorized the appointment of one Superintendent of Public Instruction for the two Canadas, the Governor appointed one to each, an action confirmed by later legislation. The early lack of authority and lack of personnel which prevented the proper functioning of the office of superintendent in Lower Canada was gradually overcome, until in 1857 a Department of Public Instruction was established. The influence of the Superintendent was due largely to the

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid. pp. 7,8,13,16

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. pp. 8-13

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. p. 8

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.





personal prestige of the first holders of the office, particularly P.J.O. Chauveau, later a Prime Minister of Quebec.

An inquiry into education, initiated by the legislature in 1853, resulted in the appointment of a Council of Public Instruction, whose functions were aimed at correcting the weaknesses the committee of inquiry had noted. A unified body of eleven Roman Catholics and four Protestants, the Council was authorized to make regulations concerning normal schools, (created at the same time as the Council itself) certification of teachers, and the organization, government, and discipline of Common schools. Its control also extended over textbooks, except those used for religious instruction. The latter were chosen by the local priest or minister. All regulations were subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, who could also give direction to the Council.

Considering the present emphasis in all educational circles on the need for technical training, it is interesting to note one conclusion reached by the committee of inquiry over a hundred years ago. Its report stated, "the school system does not work in such manner as to give the youth sufficient instruction, suitable to the industrial interests of the country".<sup>12</sup>

Between 1841 and 1846, three Acts were approved by which land-owners and residents in parishes, townships, towns, and cities were called upon to elect school commissioners from among property

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid. p. 9





owners.<sup>13</sup> The commissioners' duties included the building of schools, appointment of teachers, regulation of courses of study, and selection of text books. To finance the schools, they were authorized to levy real estate taxes and to collect a monthly fee for every child of school age. The latter was an indirect way of achieving compulsory school attendance.

During this period (1841-1867) a "common school fund" was established by the legislature for the support of local school systems. The local system, however, was required to raise a sum at least equal to the amount provided by the central authority. Resistance to taxes which people were not used to paying led to an episode known as the "war of the candle snuffers", in which some schools were burned and others closed. The central government's proportion of costs decreased steadily until by 1875, it was only ten per cent of the total, a level at which it remained until the depression years of the 1930's. By 1960, it had risen to thirty per cent. Since 1961, it has exceeded forty-six per cent.<sup>14</sup>

The Education Act of 1841 clearly established schools intended to enrol children of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths. Nevertheless, it created the privilege of dissent, by which a minority

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<sup>13</sup>The "commissioner" is the equivalent of the Alberta "trustee". However, the word "trustee" in the Parent report is used to designate the administrators of a separate school.

<sup>14</sup>Premier rapport du ministre de l'Education, (Quebec: Queen's Printer, April 1965), p. 46.





group could establish its own schools administered by trustees who had the same powers and obligations as commissioners. This right to dissent has remained inviolate to the present day.

In cities and towns not included in the districts affected by the conditions above, a board of examiners was to be set up by the municipal body with the mayor as chairman. Made up of an equal number of Roman Catholics and Protestants, the committee acted as a whole for common schools, but divided into two sections for schools attended solely by children of one faith or the other. In Montreal and Quebec, where there was a concentration of Protestants, separate corporations for each faith were appointed by the council to administer the schools, as well as two boards of examiners to control teacher qualifications and appointments.

Thus, throughout the province there grew up, side by side, confessional schools and common schools. The latter became confessional in fact, where the population was entirely of one faith, or where there was a large enough minority group to establish a dissentient school. As confederation approached, the interests of both groups coincided to resist state control. Protestants wanted to retain their autonomy, and the Roman Catholic clergy and many laymen were concerned with retaining the Church's educational function.

Later legislation, although it modified the system, has not changed the fundamental pattern established: the selection of local officials, the method of financing, or the right to dissent.





Previous Characteristics Firmly Established, 1867-1907.<sup>15</sup> The British North America Act, in according exclusive authority over education to the provinces, and maintaining the rights of religious minorities in the matter of education, merely confirmed the existing situation in Quebec. Within the province, the position of Superintendent was at first changed to Minister of Public Instruction, but an Act of 1875 restored the post of Superintendent. Supporters of the Act sought to protect education from political influence. The office remained "substantially unchanged" up to the current revisions of the system.

Changes in the Council of Public Instruction gave strong emphasis to religious differences. In 1869, the Council was divided into two committees, each having jurisdiction over schools of the appropriate faith. Moreover, the committees were given the right to require that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council constitute each a separate Council. A further step toward separate systems occurred in 1875, when the bishops of Quebec were made members of the council, constituting one third of its membership. The composition of the Council remained constant until changes effected as a result of the recent Commission of Inquiry.

Furthermore, the committees which had previously referred to the Council for ratification of their decisions, developed more and more independently. Plenary sessions of the Council were held less and less frequently, until the point was reached that no meeting was held from

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<sup>15</sup>Parent Report, op. cit. pp. 13-16





1908 to 1960.

A separation occurred at all levels of education including the secondary schools and universities, which developed in quite different ways. The Protestant system gave secondary instruction in the public schools, in a programme which led to the undergraduate and professional faculties at the universities of McGill and Bishop's. Secondary education in the Catholic system was concentrated in the classical colleges, which made up the Faculty of Arts of Laval University, and gave entry to its faculties of theology, law and medicine.

Expansion, 1907-1961.<sup>16</sup> Since the Council of Public Instruction did not meet between 1908 and 1960, the authority of the two Committees and the Superintendent increased. This authority was even further extended in 1922, when the Superintendent was authorized to distribute educational funds according to the recommendations of the two committees.

The year 1907 marked the "appearance of a new approach to technical education". A great variety of arts, trades, and technical schools opened, beginning in 1907 and continuing throughout the period. Each school, or type of school was under the jurisdiction of a local committee or government ministry. Each of the twelve apprenticeship centres opened in 1945, for example, had its own commission made up of representatives of employers, workers and the Labour Department, but the general control was under the Department of Labour.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid. pp. 16-21





The multiplicity of bodies responsible for education created an extremely complex administrative system which the creation of a Minister of Education (1964) sought to correct. The following government departments had responsibility for various phases of education: Youth, Family and Social Welfare, Labour, Agriculture, Game and Fisheries, and Lands and Forests.<sup>17</sup> Institutions under their jurisdiction were in some way related to the Roman Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction or the Superior Council of Technical Education.

Secondary education expanded throughout the province in classical colleges and protestant high schools, and in English speaking Roman Catholic High Schools, the latter mainly in Montreal. Although there was a gradually increasing emphasis in all these institutions on courses in the sciences or commerce, it was reported that students from the classical colleges frequently found themselves two years behind their high school counterparts when they entered university in the sciences or social sciences.

Similar expansion occurred at the post-secondary level with the granting of charters to the Universities of Montreal, Sherbrooke and Sir George Williams. McGill, a non-denominational institution, preceded the other universities in the establishment of scientific studies. However, the establishment of the "Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales" in 1907

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid. pp. 42-46

<sup>18</sup>Ibid. Part 2. (1964) p. 22





in Montreal is noteworthy for the training of executive and management personnel in business.

Another event of the year 1907 was the transfer from McGill to Macdonald College of the responsibility for the training of protestant teachers. Affiliated with McGill, Macdonald College now prepares almost all protestant teachers, male and female, primary and secondary. The variety and number of institutions for the training of Roman Catholic teachers, especially women teachers, has created another situation which the Parent Commission recommendations seek to correct. In 1963, there were 115 teacher training institutions in Quebec and only 35 others in the rest of Canada.<sup>19</sup> Efforts to make the programmes offered by these institutions meet higher and more uniform standards have increased throughout the twentieth century, but a strong emphasis on the revision of teacher training programmes is evident in the recommendations of the commission of inquiry.<sup>20</sup>

Following the first World War a need for centralization of the many school commissions was felt, particularly among Protestants. Some centralization was achieved in Montreal in 1925. The reorganization was further developed after the second World War. In the Roman Catholic system, forty-one Montreal school commissions were centralized between 1917 and 1928, but until recently, little success had been achieved out-

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid. p. 264

<sup>20</sup>Ibid. pp. 319-322. Recommendations numbers 151 to 172 are concerned with this subject.





side Montreal. Centralization, particularly for secondary school education, has been highly developed in the 1960's. It is an important part of current changes and will be discussed fully in that context.

In spite of improvements in programmes, in teacher training, in administration, and in the availability of education in the twentieth century, an investigation of the Protestant system was undertaken in 1937, and of the Catholic system in 1951. Moreover, the commission established in 1953 to investigate constitutional matters in Quebec, because it was concerned with educational taxes, received 140 briefs which dealt in some way with education. Consequently its "Report dealt with a great many aspects of the educational problem".<sup>21</sup> Some of its major recommendations are repeated in the report of the more recent Parent Commission.

#### RECENT REFORMS

The process of reform in education was initiated during the short period of the Union Nationale government following the death of Duplessis. The election of the Lesage government in 1960, with Paul G  rin-Lajoie as the minister responsible for education, however, marks the period of "dedication" to educational reform. Such, at least, is the opinion of one particularly respected observer.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid. Part 1. p. 20.

<sup>22</sup>Jules Le Blanc, "En Education, Ca Ne Va Pas Trop Vite!", Le Magazine Maclean, Vol. 6 No. 9. Sept. 1966, p. 24. The editors note that since 1959, when Mr. LeBlanc was first made responsible for educational reporting for Le Devoir, he has twice received annual awards made by the union of French-speaking journalists of Canada.





Convenience of discussion and, to some extent, chronological occurrence suggest the division of recent changes into four main categories: provincial organization and administration, local organization and administration, programmes of study, and confessionality. Although programmes of study and confessionality are briefly considered early in the Parent Report, its general plan also follows this order.

Provincial Organization and Administration. In a report to the Legislature, Paul Gérin-Lajoie reminded the house that from 1960 the government's main concern was "to bring order out of the former confusion".<sup>23</sup> He mentioned, in particular, the fields of school finance and school construction. Reorganization was effected in these two areas by increasing centralization in the Ministry of Youth, and by extending that Ministry's control. Evidence of the trend can be seen in the relative size of the budgets for the 1962-63 year of the Ministry of Youth and the Department of Education, 228,156,000 dollars and 8,392,000 dollars respectively.<sup>24</sup> It is to be noted that the Department of Education was under the control of the Superintendent, who distributed funds according to the directions of the two confessional Committees.

Increased expenditures by the provincial government were necessitated by many of the reforms effected by the "Magna Carta" of educa-

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<sup>23</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Debates of the Legislative Assembly, reported in Education Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 37A, February 10, 1966, pp. D-2.

<sup>24</sup>Parent Report, Part 1, op. cit. p. 79.





tion.<sup>25</sup> Among the most important were the requirements that all school boards provide education up to the eleventh year of school, and that no fees be charged for education up to the twelfth year. Coupled with the extension of compulsory school age, first to fifteen, and then to sixteen years of age, were school allowances for children of sixteen and seventeen years of age, allowances to students in the eighth to eleventh years in independent schools, and bursaries for students in independent schools.

Financial aid to students, intended to make school more accessible to all, has increased in the five years up to the 1965-66 school year from 7,500,000 dollars to 21,000,000 dollars. The number of bursary holders, excluding those in private institutions, has risen from 30,000 to 50,000. Although a generally improved economic condition must not be ignored as a factor in the increase in enrolments, the policy of the government is felt to be a major influence in achieving increased enrolments. Two levels of the school population which have increased greatly are the kindergarten and secondary students. The former has increased from 6,000 to 35,000; the latter from 230,000 to 380,000 in the same five-year period. These increases, moreover, are not merely the result of an increased population. For example, the attendance of youth between thirteen and sixteen years old has increased from 57 per

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<sup>25</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie, op. cit. p. D-7. The following summary is taken from the Minister's report. The term "Magna Carta" is used to describe the series of acts passed in the 1961 session of the legislature.





cent to 80 per cent of the possible total.<sup>26</sup>

Among the numerous acts approved in the 1960-61 session was that establishing the Royal Commission of Inquiry. Its findings were strongly in support of the process of centralization of authority which was already taking place when the Commission was established. The legislature's approval of the Commission's recommendation to create a Ministry of Education completed the process of centralization. The administrative structure of the Ministry was designed to give efficient leadership by the province through its six major departments.<sup>27</sup>

Control of education by the political body is opposed to traditional thinking in Quebec, as exemplified by the power invested in the Superintendent of Instruction and the confessional committees. Partly as a means of conforming to tradition, while at the same time improving the effectiveness of administration and leadership, the Commission's recommended Superior Council of Education was approved by the legislature in 1964, immediately following its approval of the Ministry itself.

Sloan summarizes the functions of the council as being "nothing less than those of a permanent Royal Commission of Inquiry...as a permanent representative of the non-political public...a representative...

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Premier Rapport du Ministre, op. cit. p. 8. The six departments, each supported by necessary services, are: Planning, Programmes and Examinations, School Organization, Equipment, Finance, and Higher Education.





body that will give its own advice to the government".<sup>28</sup> In order to avoid the division which occurred in the earlier Council of Public Instruction, as well as its failure to meet, the Superior Council of Education is constituted as a unified body, and is required to meet at least once a month.<sup>29</sup>

Local Organization and Administration. One of the first tasks accomplished by the Ministry of Education was the reorganization of administration of secondary education at the local level. In a report to the legislature in June, 1961, just a year after the Ministry itself had been formed, the Minister stated that:

The majority of some 1,600 school boards of Quebec are today regrouped into regional school boards on whom falls the responsibility for ensuring to all the children within their district a secondary education in keeping with their aptitudes and ambitions.<sup>30</sup>

By January of 1965, the Minister was able to announce that the administrative aspect of the plan was complete. The planned fifty-five regional boards had been formed from some 1,600 local school boards.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>T.S. Sloan, Quebec, The Not-So-Quiet Revolution, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), p. 44.

<sup>29</sup>Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'Education, in Premier Rapport du Ministre, op. cit. Annexe II, pp. 149, 151.

<sup>30</sup>Text of a speech by the Minister of Education taken from the Débats de l'Assemblée législative du Québec, edition dated Monday, June 21, 1965, in Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 8, July 2, 1965, p. 60.

<sup>31</sup>Rapport Du Colloque Du Ministre De L'Education, 22, 23, January, 1965, p. 14. There are, in fact, 64 such regional boards, including the nine under protestant jurisdiction.



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The latter were to retain their function at the elementary level. "Operation 55", as it was called, was not merely an administrative reorganization. It was intended to provide the framework for reform of the program of study at the secondary level which was tied to the planning of buildings in each of the regions. To plan the program and the buildings to accommodate it, each regional board was asked to associate itself with a regional advisory committee. These advisory committees included administrators, teachers, students, delegates from the various socio-economic groups, industrialists and businessmen.

By April of 1966, the Department of Education had approved forty-seven of the plans submitted for the creation of comprehensive schools. A typical school will, by 1971, accommodate 3,600 students. It will include fifty-six regular teaching areas, amphitheatres, athletics rooms, gymnasias, a library area able to accommodate ten per cent of the students at a time, an auditorium, and an audio-visual centre. In addition, it will contain fifteen types of shops ranging through a variety of trades, five types of special education areas such as the plastic arts and information, and eight types of laboratories to service such disciplines as history, the various sciences, and languages. Rooms will be provided to accommodate 200 teachers and student associations, cafeteria and other services. Unusual in a public school system will be the chaplain's quarters and a chapel.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 36, January 28, 1966, p. 245.

The first step in the process of developing a new product is to identify the market opportunity. This involves understanding the needs and wants of the target market, and identifying the unique value proposition that the product can offer. Once the market opportunity has been identified, the next step is to develop a business plan. This plan should outline the company's mission, vision, and goals, as well as the marketing and sales strategy. The business plan should also include a financial forecast, which will help to determine the viability of the product. Once the business plan has been developed, the next step is to develop a prototype of the product. This prototype should be used to test the product's functionality and to gather feedback from potential customers. Once the prototype has been tested and feedback has been gathered, the next step is to develop a final product. This final product should be designed to meet the needs and wants of the target market, and to provide a unique value proposition. Once the final product has been developed, the next step is to launch the product into the market. This involves developing a marketing and sales strategy, and implementing it. The final step in the process is to evaluate the product's performance. This involves monitoring sales, customer feedback, and other key performance indicators. Once the product's performance has been evaluated, the company can decide whether to continue to invest in the product or to discontinue it.

1. Identify the market opportunity.  
2. Develop a business plan.  
3. Develop a prototype.  
4. Develop a final product.  
5. Launch the product.  
6. Evaluate the product's performance.



Considerable emphasis has been placed on maintaining contact between the Ministry of Education and the people in local areas. To this end, the Minister himself has three times toured the province to discuss proposed policies and changes in an attempt to design programs which fit local needs or, alternatively, show how local needs can be met by the policies formulated. The first two tours were concerned with administrative matters, the proposal to create a Ministry of Education and Operation 55. The third tour early in 1966, was designed to discuss the problems raised by regional advisory boards. It therefore covered a broad range of topics including the coordination of the private and public institutions, the system of "institutes" designed to provide pre-university and vocational education, and the changes being effected in the programme of study.

In spite of such efforts, Le Blanc feels that the Department of Education has failed in its objective of keeping people informed.<sup>33</sup> He states that perhaps the most urgent need in Quebec is to create an intensive programme of information for parents. Reiterating the analysis of Paul Gérin-Lajoie, he points up the necessity of choosing a policy of investment or a policy of consumption. Present taxes are not sufficient to support both.

Nor is it only parents who are uncertain. Of teachers, Le Blanc states that the majority, who support the reform, recognize the inadequacy of their training, but feel that educational authorities are not

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<sup>33</sup> Le Blanc, op. cit. pp. 33,36





helping them "to fill the deep ditch which exists between what they are, and what they ought and would like to be".<sup>34</sup> Administrators at the local and regional level, he says, feel snowed under and at the end of their rope. Part of their difficulty, he feels, lies in their own insufficiencies, but this difficulty is aggravated by the lack of administrators or specialists to advise them and to carry out policies. The ineffective execution of policies results in criticism of the policies themselves, which, in turn, aggravates the general feeling of uncertainty at all levels.

The Minister himself recognized the unrest. Speaking to the legislature on the subject of educational reform, he included the following observations: "...there have been difficulties, anxieties and criticisms...giving rise, here and there, to perturbation and even to stormy reactions".<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, his successor, Jean-Jacques Bertrand, in a broadcast speech shortly after the June, 1966 election, stated that he approved of the policies of his predecessor and intended to continue putting them into effect. Another observer, in discussing the role of the new government, agrees with Le Blanc that if the policy of reform is to be followed it must not be the grande politique of the Liberals, but a policy based on the real participation of the people.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid. p. 36

<sup>35</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2. No. 37A p. D-2.

<sup>36</sup>Paul Cliche, "La Guerre Des Régionales," Le Magazine Maclean, Vol. 6, No. 9. Sept. 1966, p. 30.





Programme Changes. Administrative reforms are, however, but the base for reform in the educational programme. As Paul Gérin-Lajoie observed;

Now that this first (administrative) stage has been completed, the Minister is beginning the next one by directing his efforts toward the spirit and methods of teaching, the progressive and planned transformation of which must give to the new structures their true meaning.<sup>37</sup>

In large measure, programme changes also are based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. Part Two of its report describes needed reform from the kindergarten to the university level. It places special emphasis on revision of teacher training, and includes a section devoted to pre-university and vocational training at a level following the secondary school. Two other sections are devoted to continuing education and the education of exceptional children.

The first volume of Part Two of the Parent Report deals in general terms with the revision of programmes and their organization. A second volume deals in detail with programmes of study and educational services.<sup>38</sup> Major changes have been effected, or are in the process of being effected, by the promulgation of departmental regulations numbered one to four. Other changes are being brought about by institutions which have undertaken them without regulation. Adaptations have been made, for example,

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<sup>37</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Speech for the Corporation des instituteurs catholiques, Montreal, 27 August, 1965, in Education Weekly, op. cit. vol. 2, No. 16, p. 144.

<sup>38</sup>Parent Rapport. op. cit. Part Two, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2. Vol. 1 contains recommendations 1-192, regarding the structure and levels of education, and Vol 2. recommendations 193-402 dealing with programmes themselves, educational services such as guidance, library, and medical, and the nature of school buildings.



It is a common mistake to think that the

idea of a "good" government is a

new one.

The idea of a "good" government is not new. It is a concept that has been around for a long time. It is a concept that has been around for a long time. It is a concept that has been around for a long time.

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by some universities; and teachers' associations have accepted responsibilities which follow the spirit of recommendations of the Commission.

Regulation 1 of the Department of Education, dated May, 1965, lays the basis for a complete reform of both the elementary and secondary programmes. Major areas affected at the elementary level are the reduction of the programme to six years from seven, the classification of pupils by criteria other than merely grade, the reduction of examinations to two, English or French and mathematics, and only at the end of the elementary period, and required promotion of students to the secondary level after seven years.<sup>39</sup> The principal changes at the secondary level are the inclusion of a remedial seventh year for certain students, limiting the length of the programme to five years, and the introduction of subject promotion.

To outsiders there appears little which is revolutionary in these reforms. They are, as one Quebec school principal observed, merely an attempt to bring the structure of the Quebec education system in closer relationship with that elsewhere. Moreover, many of the reforms merely bring the Catholic system into a closer relationship with the Protestant system.

One section of Regulation 1 has accorded to teachers both a greater freedom than they have previously enjoyed and, at the same time,

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<sup>39</sup>The possibility of a remedial year is envisaged after the third year. Reduction in length from seven to six years is possible because the seventh year has been largely a review of the previous six years' work.





a greater responsibility. Implementation of the reforms, according to Section 8, will depend on a school board's consultation with the academic staff affected by articles of the regulation. Thus, teachers may well control the extent and speed of the reform. They therefore feel under considerable pressure from authorities and the public. A member of the executive staff of the largest Catholic teachers' organization commented in the summer of 1965, that many older, traditionally trained teachers feared for their jobs, because they were ignorant of the proposed new methodology implied in implementing Regulation 1.

In an attempt to allay this fear, the Minister of Education spoke to the teachers in terms of accepting a challenge, of working in groups at the school level, and outlined three choices for teachers, indicating that, provided they were "team choices" they were completely acceptable. First was extending "into the future the teaching style and methods which have inspired the professional training of the greater part of the members" of the teaching force. Second was accepting "a radical transformation of its educational activity". Finally, there was the choice of cautiously "introducing new techniques", pilot projects, inservice projects and workshops.<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, the responsibility is thrust upon teachers who must be the first to experience the common criticism that in spite of all the changes, nothing has yet affected the classroom. This condition

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<sup>40</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie, speech to C.I.C. in Education Weekly op. cit. Vol. 2. No. 16. p. 144.





was confirmed in conversation with numerous teachers in Quebec, teachers from both the elementary and secondary levels. Of this criticism, Le Blanc says that the critics have put their finger on a very sensitive spot. "It is correct", he says, "that nothing has really changed in the classrooms. Correct, but unjust."<sup>41</sup> The injustice lies in the fact that ten to fifteen years are needed to change completely a programme of studies and to retrain the teachers, and that the framework of action has been taken within which pedagogical reform can be realized.

By Regulation 2, Department of Education examinations are set at two levels, the end of each of the elementary and secondary school periods. The latter, however, may be at the eleventh or twelfth year. The provision of supplemental examinations for Catholic students and the abolishing of fees for regular examinations previously charged for Catholic students has standardized practices for all students. The purpose of examinations at the elementary level is stated as being to provide information of the pupil's academic achievement, promotion to the secondary level being mandatory after seven years. At the secondary level, the examinations provide the Department of Education with information necessary for the award of certificates.<sup>42</sup>

Another recommendation of the Parent Report will be implemented through the gradual application of Regulation No. 3. Through this reg-

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<sup>41</sup>Le Blanc, op. cit. p. 24

<sup>42</sup>Department of Education, Regulation No. 2 reported in Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 42. p. 283





ulation it is possible to create centres of study between the secondary and university level. To distinguish these organizations from the "Junior College" or English "Sixth Form" they have been named "Institutes". The distinction in name is required because there are important differences in the function of the institutes from those of the other centres of learning.

One important distinction is that they are intended to give courses terminating in a certificate in vocational or general educational studies for students seventeen to nineteen years of age. As in the high schools, the programme will be comprehensive in nature, but will give students an opportunity to develop a high degree of specialization in vocational or pre-university studies. Receipt of the certificate will permit vocational students to enter a specialized occupation. Those who receive "the pre-university graduation certificate...may enrol in a university and obtain their first university diploma at the end of sixteen years of study, as is the general rule in North America and in Europe".<sup>43</sup>

The institute appears to combine the functions of Grade Thirteen and certain functions of the institutes of technology with those of the junior colleges. In spite of these similarities, the programme is also intended to lead to a recognized certificate, representing a programme complete in itself given on a campus distinct from either the high school or university.

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<sup>43</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2. No. 46 p. 319.





Normal schools are among the first institutions to be affected by Regulation No. 3. Those normal schools offering a four year teacher training program are required, from September 1966 forward, to provide certain courses set out by the Department in order to offer programmes in various general options such as "elementary course and teaching of exceptional children".<sup>44</sup>

Teacher training is the subject of Regulation No. 4, approved in March, 1966. The regulation distinguishes between the certificate of study, obtained from a recognized institution, and the licence to teach, issued by the Department. This distinction is new in Quebec. The programme of study for teachers is extended from a minimum of thirteen to fourteen years, and must include a minimum of one year of psychology, teaching methods and classroom practice. The regulation will be effected gradually so that "normal schools will not be replaced, but rather will be transformed by successive stages".<sup>45</sup> To allay the concern of teachers already in the field, the regulation states that "the holder of a teaching diploma granted under former regulations shall retain the rights conferred by such diploma".<sup>46</sup>

To advise the Minister on the application of the regulation, a Teacher Education Committee is to be appointed. The composition of this

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<sup>44</sup>Education Weekly, Vol. 3. No. 1. August 1966, p. 1

<sup>45</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie, reported in Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2. No. 43, p. 295.

<sup>46</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2. No. 46, p. 320.





committee is such as to provide for the representation of interested groups, an aspect of the administrative organization of education in Quebec exemplified in all areas of educational activity. In this case, one third of the members are to be appointed after consultation with the most representative of teachers' organizations, and one third after consultation with institutions at which approved teacher education programmes are provided.<sup>47</sup>

September 1966 is also the date when the impact of another aspect of teacher training will be felt in the elementary classrooms of Quebec. With the cooperation of other groups concerned, the Department launched a teacher training project in January, 1966. Sixty teachers, delegated by their colleagues, undertook a nine week course in "activist methods of education". In return for the released time accorded by their school boards, the teachers were responsible for offering similar courses to 1,000 of their colleagues during the summer of 1966. Since each delegate was one of a study group of a minimum of fifteen members, and further, since the sixty delegates had to be selected from a larger number, it is clear that the in-service training has gone much farther than those directly involved in the nine week course. The overall effect will probably extend farther than those who took the summer courses.

Other in-service training has been effected by teachers' organizations in week-end seminars, by the Department of Education in the broadcasting of courses by television, and by the University of Montreal

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.





by the same medium. The University of Montreal has also encouraged teachers to undertake further study by dropping the requirement of a B.A. for certain courses.<sup>48</sup>

In the field of adult education, the University of Montreal has organized afternoon television programmes in courses leading to a degree.<sup>49</sup> The Department has given some impetus to Adult Education by the appointment of a Special Adviser on Adult Education. Prior to taking up his duties, the appointee, Mr. Fernand Jolicoeur, had served for eighteen years as Director of the Educational Service of the C.N.T.U.<sup>50</sup> The Department has offered financial assistance in various areas of the province in a variety of ways. One of the most striking is a grant of \$1,275,000 to the Collège Sainte Marie, in Montreal, for the purpose of extending its building and furniture. The institution offers to adults programmes leading to a bachelor's degree.<sup>51</sup>

One of the most extensive programmes offered in the field of adult education is that undertaken in eastern Quebec. It includes a variety of trades and vocational courses as well as general courses aimed at raising the general level of education in this area. The 1961 census revealed that twenty per cent of the population of the area over 15

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<sup>48</sup>Le Devoir, 17 June 1966, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2. No. 35. p. 237.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid. No. 21, p. 163.





years of age had reached an educational level of grade four or less.<sup>52</sup>

In the 1965-66 year, 236 classes were organized at the fifth, seventh and ninth year levels, and 26 in vocational training.<sup>53</sup>

In total 67,118 adults were enrolled in general and vocational courses throughout the province during 1965-66. Almost two thirds of these were enrolled in general programs. Among the students were 14,353 unemployed workers taking vocational courses, and another 6,038 enrolled in full-time courses in the eighth to eleventh years. Planning and organization of these courses is undertaken largely by regional school boards. In consultation with the Department of Education programs are developed to fit the needs of specific localities.<sup>54</sup>

Confessionality. The last major area of reform is that of confessionality in education. The report of the Commission of Inquiry dealing with this topic, published in May, 1966, has given rise to a great deal of discussion ranging from severe criticism to clearcut support.<sup>55</sup> What will be the effect of the commission's recommendations remains to be seen, since their application will no doubt be tempered according to public reaction. Time is still needed for the public to become thoroughly familiar with their content.

The recommendations are based on two principles. The first is

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid. Vol. 3. No. 2. p. 14.

<sup>55</sup>Newspaper reports and letters to the editor in Le Soleil and Le Devoir, particularly in the period 14 May, 1966 to 26 May 1966. André Lanjevin and André Laurendeau also deal with the topic in the July 1966 issue of Le Magazine Maclean.





that all administrative bodies, which represent the state, should be non-religious, in that they represent all citizens, not any particular group. The second is that parents should have the right of control over the type of religious or moral education given to their children. The latter implies the organization of multi-confessional institutions offering a variety of programmes adapted to the requirements of the institution's population.<sup>56</sup>

There are, however, some small, but significant changes which have already been made. Recognition was accorded to citizens of faiths other than Catholic and Protestant in the membership of the Superior Council of Education. The law creating this body states that at least one member shall be of neither the Catholic nor Protestant faith.<sup>57</sup> A similar change occurred in the appointment of five Jewish members to the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.<sup>58</sup> Further recognition is accorded to differences among school systems by the declaration of eight movable holidays instead of fixed religious holidays. Initiated in the 1965-66 year, the policy has been reaffirmed for the 1966-67 year, "in order that consideration may be given to particular circumstances occurring in each region from religious, social, patriotic and

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<sup>56</sup>Parent Report op. cit. Part 3, Vol. 5. pp. 247,248. The recommendations include reference to all educational institutions from the elementary to university level.

<sup>57</sup>Premier Rapport du Ministère, op. cit. p. 149.

<sup>58</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 13, p. 125. The Protestant system of Montreal has long received Jewish children into its schools, while according recognition to their different faith.





ethnic points of view".<sup>59</sup>

Le Blanc refers to a change in classroom readers, in which a new approved edition omitted religious texts and pictures contained in previous editions. He points out that the criticism which this action aroused occurred in spite of the fact that it was effected to conform to the spirit of the new catechism produced and supported by religious authorities.<sup>60</sup> In keeping with the new programme of religious education, the Department had also revised the procedure for examinations in religious knowledge, replacing them with other forms of evaluation in the first and second year of school, and giving more responsibility for the examination to those directly concerned at the other elementary and secondary levels.<sup>61</sup>

That religious instruction will continue to play an important part in schools can be seen clearly from the facilities of the typical comprehensive school described earlier. The provision of a chapel and chaplain's quarters is anticipated. The former Minister of Education, moreover, made this statement to the legislature:

...that the presence of chaplains in secondary schools is officially recognized by the Department, and that the expenditures incurred under the item of Cult and Pastoral Services will be admitted, after study of each case, for the purpose of calculating budget-balancing grants made to school boards.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 3. No. 1. p.3.

<sup>60</sup>Le Blanc, op. cit. p. 24

<sup>61</sup>Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 42, p. 285.

<sup>62</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Education Weekly, op. cit. Vol. 2, No. 8, p.64.





In the same statement he emphasized the Department's demonstrated respect for the confessional system, and its cooperation and cordial relations with religious authorities, in particular the Office cathéd-chistique.

Of the proposed system of multi-confessional schools, Laurendeau writes that it presents practical problems, but that the spirit of the system appears essentially to conform to the doctrine of the Church, as it has been established for more than twenty years.<sup>63</sup> Although at the time writing about confessionalism, Frère Untel perhaps summarizes in the following concise statement the changes which are occurring in education. "The originality of our education revolution is that it is not undertaken against the Christian religion. It is undertaken in the name of realism and democracy."<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>André Laurendeau, "Enfin le choix de l'école appartient aux parents", Le Magazine Maclean, Vol. 6, No. 7, July, 1966 p. 48 (Emphasis not in the original.)

<sup>64</sup>Jean Paul Desbiens, Sous le soleil de la pitié, (Montreal: Les Editions Du Jour, Inc. 1965), p. 100



## CHAPTER VIII

### CULTURAL ACTIVITY

Growth, development, action and change are words which fit well into a description of current Quebec. They apply equally to a description of artistic activity.

The development in literature is discussed in this chapter, not only in its quantity, but in its changed nature. The traditional themes of the nineteenth century have given place to a literature which more closely reflects society and yet achieves a greater measure of universal appeal. Some of the major writers and works which have marked this development are identified.

French-Canadian theatre, particularly in Montreal, has reached a stage of development in which Montreal is now compared with other large French cities as a centre of production of theatre in French. With the increase in theatrical production and support from various government bodies, an increase in the amount and variety of French-Canadian dramatic writing has also occurred.

In art, handicrafts and architecture expansion is also taking place. Some major influences or trends in these activities are noted in this statement.

### LITERATURE

Tougas remarks on an "intense literary activity" between 1959





and 1963.<sup>1</sup> In an analysis of the development of the French-Canadian novel in the twentieth century, Wyczynski discusses twelve significant novels in the period up to the end of the second world war, and fifteen in the four year period 1959 to 1962.<sup>2</sup> Charts supplied by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs giving an analysis of French language publications in the province for the years 1962 and 1963 show totals of 182 and 277 first editions respectively for these years. An enquiry conducted by the Department of Society and Anthropology of the University of Laval leads one to believe that the intense activity mentioned by Tougas was noticeable, in fact, from 1956 forward.<sup>3</sup> The same enquiry reveals a heightened activity in publication from 1941 to 1955, after which a second large increase occurred. An interesting study might be developed based on the relationship between the increase in publication and changes which have occurred in the economy, in politics and in education.

Not only has the amount of literature developed in recent years, so has the literature itself. Especially noticeable is the great variety of themes to be found in contemporary literature, by contrast to the very limited number in nineteenth century literature. The

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<sup>1</sup>Gérard Tougas, Histoire de la Littérature Canadienne-Francaise, (Paris: Presses Universitaires De France, 1964), p. XI

<sup>2</sup>Paul Wyczynski, "Panorama du roman canadien-français," in Paul Wyczynski et al (editors) Le Roman Canadien-Français, Montreal and Paris: Fides, 1964), pp. 16-24.

<sup>3</sup>Claude Corriveau et al. "Une Enquête: Le Statut De L'Ecrivain Et La Diffusion De La Littérature et société canadienne-française, (Quebec: Les Presses De L'Université Laval, 1964), p. 76





influence of the historian, F-X Garneau,<sup>4</sup> and the critic, Casgrain,<sup>5</sup> was sufficiently strong that three themes are to be found in the nineteenth century, both in the poetry and in the novel: adventure, history and the land.<sup>6</sup> Casgrain particularly influenced writers in maintaining a believing, religious note in their works.<sup>7</sup>

Emile Nelligan, writing between 1896 and 1899, was the first to reach out of this restricted literary world. In his poetry, he set aside the traditional "Canadian subjects and found his inspiration in symbolism" and thus "opened wider horizons for his successors."<sup>8</sup>

Novelists were slower to develop the same kind of freedom. Wyczynski describes some isolated examples in the period before the second world war.<sup>9</sup> He mentions the piquant realism of Girard in Marie Calumet (1904), the naturalism of Laberge in La Scouine (1918), the demand for liberty of Jean-Charles Harvey in Les Demi-civilisés, (1934). A landmark in the break from traditional themes was Ringuet's Trente Arpents (1938). For the first time a novelist faced up to the real conditions in which the rural people were living. The family described finally "leaves the land, up to now sacred, the sole objective of the habit-

<sup>4</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. 31.

<sup>5</sup>Léopold Lamontagne, "Les Courants Idéologiques", in Dumont and Falardeau, op. cit. pp. 13.

<sup>6</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. p. 13.

<sup>7</sup>Lamontagne, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. 77.

<sup>9</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. pp. 16, 19.





ant .<sup>10</sup> Marcotte singles out Grignon's, Un Homme et son péché, (1934) as the first novel worthy of the name.<sup>11</sup> Although set in the traditional framework of the "land", the novel analyses the life and character of a miser,<sup>12</sup> and thus is a departure from the traditional theme.

From the novels published during the second world war, Wyczynski selects three as landmarks.<sup>13</sup> Charbonneau's Ils Possèderont la terre (1941) gives the external events second place, in order to emphasize the internal life of the two main characters. Lemelin's Au pied de la pente douce (1944) portrays the "vibrant reality" of a Quebec City district and reveals the author as a close observer and a bantering critic of society. Roy's Bonheur d'occasion gives life to the Saint-Henri district of Montreal as well as to the people who suffer through their existence in the district.

Novels of the war itself, Wyczynski dismisses in two "praiseworthy attempts to paint the bloody events in which Canadians had taken part".<sup>14</sup> He mentions Sous les balles de la gestapo, (1943-44) by Simard and Deux portes--- une adresse (1952) by Vac. For some reason, he fails to mention Neuf jours de haine, (1948), by Richard or Les

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<sup>10</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. p. 18

<sup>11</sup>Gilles Marcotte, "Traduit du Français," in Maurice Nadeau (Director), Les Lettre Nouvelles, (Paris: Editions Denoël, Numéro spécial, Décembre 1966-Janvier 1967), p. 80.

<sup>12</sup>Wyczynski, loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. p. 19.

<sup>14</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. p. 20





Canadiens errants, (1954) by Vaillancourt. Both of these appear in other discussions of the modern novel.<sup>15</sup> Tougas, indeed, says that Neuf jours de haine "is the only Canadian novel of the war which succeeds in suggesting, through its linguistic impressionism, the carnage of the second world war."<sup>16</sup>

The war novels and Le Survenant, (1945) by Guèvremont are exceptions among the novels which followed Trente Arpents.<sup>17</sup> Sylvestre observes that the exodus to the towns led writers to portray the ways of urban dwellers and to analyse their "state of soul", and that "most of the good novels of customs and analysis in the last few years are inspired by the townsfolk."<sup>18</sup>

Following the war, the novel has experienced a "very important development."<sup>19</sup> Tougas writes more positively, "... it is to the outstanding works of the contemporary period that one must refer to appreciate the profound revolution which is taking place in Canadian letters."<sup>20</sup>

French-Canadian poetry has led the way in the development which

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<sup>15</sup>For example: Guy Sylvestre, Panorama des Lettres canadiennes-françaises, (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1964) p. 61; Tougas, op. cit. pp. 181, 182.

<sup>16</sup>Tougas, op. cit. pp. 181, 182.

<sup>17</sup>Guy Sylvestre, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. p. 20.

<sup>20</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. viii





has occurred. Writing of the poets of the 1920's, Sylvestre says:

Thanks to these poets, poetry had ceased to be pure eloquence or facile sentimentalism; it embraced universal themes and truly became an art. It was, in fact, through poetry that French-Canadian literature attained maturity, and it was the poets who created a favorable climate for progress in letters.<sup>21</sup>

Both Sylvestre<sup>22</sup> and Corriveau<sup>23</sup> point to Saint-Denis Garneau, whose Regards et Jeux dans l'espace was published in 1937, as a poet whose themes are those of contemporary writers. Others of his generation, Anne Hébert, Rina Lasnier, and particularly Alain Grandbois continue to exert a strong influence in the contemporary period. Both the content and the expression of their poetry are accorded high prestige among younger poets.<sup>24</sup>

The work of Saint-Denis Garneau was a poetry of solitude, of despair and of failure; of a poet in discord with society, from which arises a feeling of guilt.<sup>25</sup> Sylvestre believes that the theme of solitude is the dominant theme in French-Canadian literature of today.<sup>26</sup> He accepts this condition as being natural in view of the social transformation which has occurred in French Canada. Not only has the structure of society been modified, but the whole system of

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<sup>21</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. p. 53.

<sup>23</sup>Corriveau et al. in Dumont and Falardeau, op. cit. p. 91.

<sup>24</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. pp. 55, 56.

<sup>25</sup>Corriveau, et al. loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Sylvestre op. cit. p. 74





values which was sufficient for a rural people has burst apart, and is totally inadequate for the present generations. In all the literature, he continues, there is a negativism, a revolt, a questioning of the values by which earlier generations lived.

An analysis of current themes is included in the works of a number of writers. One of the more detailed is made by Wyczynski.<sup>27</sup> In the work of Giroux and Filiatrault he perceives the theme of anxiety. Elie and Langevin reveal a sickness of spirit. New treatments of the theme of love are given by the feminine writers, Loranger, Martin, Hébert, Blais and Paradis. The "avant garde" novel is represented by Jasmin and Languirand. Defying categorisation is Thériault, whose themes include the reality of country life, the city and the Jewish question, the Canadian north in the lives of the Eskimo and Indian, and finally, the novelist in the role of observer of society.

Georges-André Vachon selects three major themes from the contemporary novel.<sup>28</sup> Among these, the theme of revolt seems to absorb the other two, religion and love. The revolt is all absorbing because it stems from a feeling of alienation - alienation from past generations, and from the present, immediate society. Contemporary writers perhaps "offer a picture, particularly well defined, of the indecision in which western man presently finds himself."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Wyczynski, op. cit. p. 21

<sup>28</sup>Georges-André Vachon, s.j. "Commentaires" in Dumont and Falardeau, op. cit. p. 199.

<sup>29</sup>Marcotte, op. cit. p. 84





It is perhaps because of the uncertainty common to other peoples, and felt particularly in Quebec, that commentators believe that French-Canadian literature is attaining a universal appeal, that it has "something to say to all men".<sup>30</sup> Another writer believes that it is the theme of revolt which carries a universal interest.

the voice of the young poets of Quebec has never been so specifically Canadian, but, rooted in the deepest fashion in revolt, thus it attains - and for the first time - the universal.<sup>31</sup>

The appeal of French-Canadian literature to readers outside Quebec is not entirely a phenomenon of the contemporary period. Tougas reports that from 1880, the time of the first award by the Académie Française to a Canadian, Louis Frechette, the numerous prizes awarded by that body to Canadian authors has had a salutary effect on Canadian literature.<sup>32</sup> Ringuet received the "prix des Vikings" in 1930 for Trente Arpents, Gabrielle Roy the "prix Femina" in 1947 for Bonheur d'occasion,<sup>33</sup> Claire Morin the "grand prix du Maine" in 1962 for Autour de toi, Tristan,<sup>34</sup> and most recently, Marie-Claire Blais, the "prix Médicis" in 1966 for Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. p. 74.

<sup>31</sup>Les Lettres Nouvelles, (unsigned introduction), op. cit. p. 17.

<sup>32</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. 263

<sup>33</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. p. 12.

<sup>34</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. 187

<sup>35</sup>Marie-Claire Blais, Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel, (Paris: Grasset, 1966).





Gabrielle Roy, Roger Lemelin and Yves Thériault particularly have had novels translated into several languages.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of this recognition outside Quebec, writers have varied opinions about the future of the novel. Sylvestre speaks of "a more and more brilliant future",<sup>37</sup> but others report that writers "often seem very pessimistic about the future of the novel."<sup>38</sup> There appears to be agreement that the future will prove the value of French-Canadian poetry.

It may be that the future of French-Canadian literature depends on the development of the society from which it springs. It has been said that "French-Canadian literature has developed parallel to the society of which it is the fairly faithful mirror."<sup>39</sup> "There is not a perfect equality between the life of a society and the novel, the poetry which is produced in it. ... Our literature is part of a western literature..."<sup>40</sup> There is a literature produced by writers who are committed to an ideology, but it is not all of French-Canadian literature.<sup>41</sup> In general, French-Canadian literature seems more con-

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<sup>36</sup>Sylvestre, loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>38</sup>Corriveau et al in Dumont and Falardeau, op. cit. p. 91.

<sup>39</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. p. 8.

<sup>40</sup>Gilles Marcotte, "La Religion Dans La Littérature Canadienne-Française," in Dumont and Falardeau, op. cit. p. 169.

<sup>41</sup>Sylvestre, op. cit. p. 11.





cerned with the human soul in relation to eternal values than with the individual in his social environment.<sup>42</sup> Such concern must be expressed within the framework of a certain setting, which obviously will remain French-Canada, but if the emphasis remains on the human being, then French-Canadian literature can be expected to maintain the quality of universal interest already displayed in some of its best examples.

#### THEATRE

The theatre in Quebec has experienced a remarkable development in the last quarter of a century.<sup>43</sup> Its growth dates from the founding of the amateur theatre company, Les Compagnons de Saint Laurent, in 1938. The group founded by Father Emile Legault played successfully up to 1952. Beginning with religious works, the company soon extended its repertoire to include the plays of Molière and Racine, the "essential", as one commentator writes.<sup>44</sup>

Father Legault laid a solid groundwork for his actors, directors and set designers, for the best known professional group, Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde was formed largely by former members of Les Compagnons.<sup>45</sup> Other groups also containing former "Compagnons" have had brief stays

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<sup>42</sup>J.S. Tassie, "La Société à travers le roman canadien-français", in Le Roman Canadien-Français, op. cit. p. 164.

<sup>43</sup>Jean Hamelin, Le Théâtre au Canada-français. (Quebec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1964) p. 19.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid, p. 9

<sup>45</sup>Ibid, p. 12





in the world of theatre. A rival of Les Compagnons, 'Le Rideau Vert', remains the other major professional group in the Quebec theatre.<sup>46</sup>

A third company 'La Nouvelle Compagnie Théâtrale' has as its object the presentation of theatre in the schools.<sup>47</sup>

Both the major companies are situated in Montreal, where they present such a wide variety of plays, and in such number, that one French commentator has said that "Montreal is, with Paris and Brussels, the city in which French theatre has its best chance."<sup>48</sup>

The Théâtre du Nouveau Monde has continued to emphasize classic French plays, particularly those of Molière, but has also brought to the Canadian stage the works of "Chekhov and Brecht, Shakespeare and O'Casey."<sup>49</sup> Since 1954 it has produced the works of Canadian playwrights, but such works are a small proportion of its total offering. Among the most successful of these was Marcel Dubé's Le Temps des lilas, which the company performed in Paris and Brussels. An English version was shown throughout Canada.<sup>50</sup>

Much of the success of the group can be attributed to Jean Gascon, the director, who has also produced Othello and The Comedy of

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid, p. 11

<sup>47</sup>Dominique Nores, "Le théâtre canadien", Les Lettres Nouvelles, op. cit. p. 247

<sup>48</sup>Ibid, p. 245

<sup>49</sup>Ibid, p. 246

<sup>50</sup>Hamelin, op. cit. p. 18.





Errors at Stratford. Recently recognized by the Canada Council for "outstanding achievement in the arts, humanities, and the social sciences", Gascon, with the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, is "as well known, or better known in Britain and Europe than any other Canadian theatrical group or personality".<sup>51</sup> Associated with him at Stratford was Robert Prévost, set designer from the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde.<sup>52</sup>

Both Le Rideau Vert company, and a more recent group, La Troupe de l'Egrégore, have had successful receptions in France.<sup>53</sup> The most recent tour of L'Egrégore included performances in Switzerland and Belgium.<sup>54</sup> These successes have occurred in spite of a difference in acting style as observed by Tougas, who believes that the Canadian actor, through living beside Anglo-Saxons for two centuries, "yells less and returns to his composure more quickly than his Parisian counterpart."<sup>55</sup>

Writing for the theatre is developing as theatrical production increases. Gratien Gélinas and Felix Leclerc represent "a French-Canadian theatre of strictly local inspiration".<sup>56</sup> Others who have

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<sup>51</sup>Bill Brown, "Jean Gascon Occupies Much Room in Life", Weekend Magazine, No. 28, 1966, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>52</sup>Hamelin, op. cit. p. 52

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>54</sup>Perspectives No. 25, 18 June, 1966, pp. 12, 14.

<sup>55</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. 247.

<sup>56</sup>Hamelin, op. cit., p. 61.



written a number of plays include Jacques Ferron, Jacques Languirand, Paul Toupin, "whose resonance guarantees him first place",<sup>57</sup> and Marcel Dubé, the "most prolific", whose works contain "no discernable French influence".<sup>58</sup> Hamelin describes his work as being "the most firmly based in realism, inherited from the great contemporary American works".<sup>59</sup>

An important factor in the expansion of theatrical activity has been the financial support of the Conseils des Arts of Canada, Quebec Province and Montreal, as well as the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the province.<sup>60</sup> With this support the artists and writers have brought about the "renaissance" of French-Canadian theatre to make it "one of the most dynamic and most original elements in French-Canadian culture".<sup>61</sup>

#### MUSIC

In spite of the musical training available at the universities of McGill (1904) and Montreal (1930), it was not until the initiation of the Symphony Concerts of Montreal, (1934) Festivals of Montreal, (1936) and the Quebec Conservatory of Music (1943) that there developed

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<sup>57</sup>Tougas, op. cit. p. 251.

<sup>58</sup>Hamelin, op. cit. p. 65.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>60</sup>Hamelin, op. cit. p. 19

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.





in Quebec an interest in training at a "strictly professional level."<sup>62</sup>

Among the most important figures in the subsequent development is Claude Champagne, one time member of the McGill staff, Associate Director of the Provincial Conservatory of Music from its foundation in 1943. As a teacher, administrator, and composer of international repute, Champagne has influenced the training and career of most Quebec composers.<sup>63</sup>

Of the nineteen forties Annette Lasalle-Leduc singles out Jean Papineau-Couture with Violet Archer and Alexander Brott as composers whose works show "an evolution towards a greater tonal liberty and a broadening, a liberation, within a traditional framework".<sup>64</sup> Papineau-Couture's Eglogues for contralto, flute and piano was recorded in 1942 by Maureen Forrester, herself a student of Bernard Diamant, vocal teacher at McGill as well as other music centres in the province.<sup>65</sup>

Many composers who became prominent in the fifties undertook their training under Claude Champagne before going on to study in France. One exception is Francois Morel who took all his formal training in Montreal. His Antiphonie has been played by Leopold Stokowsky in New York, as well as by "Pierre Monteux, Gaston Poulet and a number of other

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<sup>62</sup>Annette Lasalle-Leduc, La Vie musicale au Canada-français, (Quebec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1964), p. 9.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 16, 18.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 19, 46, 49, 50, 94.





conductors both Canadian and foreign".<sup>66</sup>

Among other important people who have helped to bring about the expansion of musical expression in Quebec are Jean Beaudet with his presentations of Canadian artists and works on Radio-Canada, and Wilfrid Pelletier, particularly with his guidance of the Provincial Conservatory of Music from its foundation in 1942. When Pelletier was appointed to direct music teaching in Quebec in 1960 the directorship of the Conservatory was assumed by another well-known and important figure, Roland Leduc.<sup>67</sup>

The Jeunesses musicales du Canada has provided young musicians throughout Canada with valuable training and experience, as well as launching some on a professional career. Sir Ernest MacMillan is reported to have said: "I hope that the Canadian provinces outside Quebec will recognize in this movement one of the finest gifts French-Canada could offer us...."<sup>68</sup>

The names of Madame Pauline Donalda, who sang opposite Caruso, Raoul Jobin of the Opéra de Paris, now director of the Conservatory in Quebec City, Pierrette Alarie and Leopold Simoneau, Richard Verreau and many others are known internationally in the field of opera.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 23,24,25.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., pp. 29,39,42.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 68, Marc Jablonski of Edmonton was at one time a member of the Jeunesses musicales.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 75, et passim.



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Names perhaps more widely known in Canada, although they also have an international reputation, are those of the dance group Les Feux-Follets and the many Quebec chansonniers. Les Feux-Follets, interpreting songs and dances of the many Canadian ethnic groups have performed in London, have been guest performers on the Ed Sullivan Show, toured the U.S., France, Belgium and Switzerland, and appeared in Paris in the Olympia Theatre's first all-Canadian music hall.<sup>70</sup> At the Olympia Theatre they "share(d) billing with such people as Monique Leyrac, (and) Claude Gauthier...."<sup>71</sup> Along with Felix Leclerc, Gilles Vigneault, Jean-Pierre Ferland, and many others, Monique Leyrac and Claude Gauthier have achieved fame primarily as interpreters of French-Canada. In many cases both the words and music of their songs are of their own creation, but some, like Monique Leyrac, have added the folk songs of other peoples to their repertoire when they have performed in various world centres.<sup>72</sup>

#### ART, HANDICRAFTS AND ARCHITECTURE

Histories of Canadian art abound with the names of painters from Quebec. The majority of Quebec painters have followed similar patterns

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<sup>70</sup>Bill Trent, Weekend Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 31, July 30, 1966, pp. 9,11.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>72</sup>Alain Pontaut, "Gilles Vigneault", Culture Vivante, No. 1, op. cit. pp. 37-40. Claude-Lyse Gagnon, "Monique Leyrac", Culture Vivante, No. 3, op. cit. pp. 18-21. Jean Royer, "Des chansonniers de mon pays", ibid. pp. 31-36.



of training at one of the Ecole des Beaux Arts.<sup>73</sup> Later experience in Paris or New York with a Matisse or a John Sloan followed as part of the pattern, but at the same time brought various influences to French-Canadian artists. "Paradoxically, it was (English-Canadian painters) who first brought the Paris influence here, first and above all Morrice and then Lyman."<sup>74</sup>

Ozias Leduc (1864-1955) is described as one of Canada's three great "loners, the great solitary figures who master their own ways of painting their own worlds, but never quite succeed in imposing their ideas on a generation or a century".<sup>75</sup>

Leduc, however, had some influence on Paul-Emile Borduas (1905-1960) who with Alfred Pellon (1906-) was a leader in "Quebec's post-war revolt in art...."<sup>76</sup> Among Borduas' pupils was Jean-Paul Riopelle,<sup>77</sup> "an accomplished artist when he moved to Paris in 1948",<sup>78</sup> whose memory still provides him with Canadian themes such as L'Ile aux trésors, (1955) and Abitibi, (1957).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Ecole des Beaux Arts founded at Quebec, 1922 and Montreal 1924, Elizabeth Kilbourn, Great Canadian Paintings, (The Canadian Centennial Library, 1966), p. 126.

<sup>74</sup> Guy Viau, La Peinture moderne au Canada français, (Quebec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1964) p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> Kilbourn, op. cit., p. 117, The others are Emily Carr and D. Milne.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Viau, op. cit., pp. 64, 63.





A great variety of painting styles and themes is evident among Quebec artists from Jacques de Tonnancour's landscapes to Rita Letendre's Tachism (Abstract Expressionism) and Guido Molinari's stripes. Molinari is "perhaps the most influential of the French-Canadian painters in his own generation (he was born in Montreal in 1933)".<sup>80</sup>

A different type of expression are the prints of Yves Gaucher, "one of the leading reasons why Canadian print-makers now have a high reputation around the world".<sup>81</sup> Laurent Lamy and Piere Guillaume report the stimulation and interest which print-making is experiencing in the province.<sup>82</sup>

In spite of the growing participation in painting and printing, there is still a widespread activity in wood carving, metal work, and tapestry making, the long known handicrafts of Quebec. Throughout the province, centers established by the Association Professionnelle des Artisans du Quebec provide opportunities for seeing and purchasing the work of craftsmen constantly striving to improve their traditional art.

A break from tradition can be seen in recent architecture in Quebec. Shopping centres such as the Centre Commercial in St. Foye or towering buildings like the Place Ville-Marie in Montreal are North-American in appearance. Primarily designed to be functional, they also

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<sup>80</sup>Kilbourn, op. cit. p. 45, p. 103, p. 116.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>82</sup>Laurent Lamy, "La Gravure en atelier Libre", Culture Vivante, op. cit. No. 2, p. 16.





present a pleasing aspect, including in some cases decorative sculpture. Perhaps the most notable change in architecture is to be found in new church buildings. From the highly ornamented, brightly decorated "traditional" churches, architects have turned to a plainer building in which the beauty is to be found in line and texture rather than ornamentation. Such buildings are found particularly in the Lac St. Jean region of which people speak of "a renaissance in ecclesiastical architecture".

Perhaps the word "renaissance" is the key to describing cultural activity generally in Quebec. "For everywhere in Quebec the phenomenon appears universal - one meets a public athirst for the things of art and of the mind."<sup>83</sup>

The busy Centre Culturel at Gaspé, the people viewing the displays of work by students of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Quebec, the packed houses at the performances of the chansonniers, the steady flow of people to the Provincial Museum in Quebec City or the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montreal, the lively discussions about the merits of the most recent production at the theatre L'Estoc in Quebec City give one the impression of an intense interest in things cultural. Perhaps this is but another expression of French-Canadian nationalism. Perhaps it is but a sign of the relative affluence now being experienced.

It seemed to me that the interest of so many people was generating further creation. From the great quantity of works which the enthusiasm is producing and in all likelihood will continue to produce, will appear

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<sup>83</sup>Jean Laforest, "Les Centres culturels", Culture Vivante, No. 1. op. cit. p. 15.





literature, drama, painting and music of appeal to a universal public.



## CHAPTER IX

### CONCLUSION

#### PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

In examining the topics discussed in relation to the hypothesis proposed, the writer has set aside the obvious distinguishing characteristic of language. Yet it must not be forgotten that language is claimed to be "the most central element in any culture."<sup>1</sup> If there were no other distinguishing characteristic, this one in itself would be sufficient to justify the argument that Quebec is different from all other provinces.

One of the observations presented is that conflict frequently exists between traditional values and social patterns on the one hand, and present values and practices on the other. Thus there are within the same area, both distinguishing characteristics and those which will be designated as shared characteristics. In the field of education, for example, many current reforms are aimed at establishing a system of education similar to existing systems in Canada and elsewhere. Yet there are people who support traditional values which conflict with some maintained outside Quebec, as well as by some people in the province.

Although the discussion is intended to follow the order of the topics in chapters two to eight, certain arbitrary divisions have to be

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<sup>1</sup>

See p. 2





made. For example, attitudes towards business might be considered either in relation to the economy, or in reference to the people. To avoid unnecessary repetition, such themes will be discussed only once. For the same reason, only those topics which are, in the writer's opinion, of special importance will be raised in these concluding remarks.

#### ECONOMY

Of the obvious differences in physical geography, climate and natural resources, the complete lack of coal and oil must be noted, because their absence emphasizes the importance of hydro-electricity as an alternate source of power. The development of hydro-electricity under government sponsorship exemplifies the role that the latter is playing in the development of industrialization, by contrast to many other societies in North America where such initiative is left to individuals.

The expansion since the second World War in industrialization, including manufacturing, and in the service industries, is a condition generally comparable with North-American economic expansion. In Quebec, however, the expansion seems to be more significant to the people, because they feel that they are developing a potential source of wealth hitherto untapped. Yet the province shares with other areas such problems as unemployment and urbanization. A high degree of United States economic control is another problem shared with other Canadian provinces, though it is heightened by a language difference not experienced elsewhere.

A characteristic feeling encountered throughout Quebec might be



mentioned in relation to a number of the topics to be treated. It is that of general participation by the people in many fields of social life. In the economy, although the participation is as yet limited, sharing in the planning activities of the government and membership in such organizations as the cooperative movement gives many citizens the impression of being partners in economic development. The same feeling is engendered in the fields of education and politics, the involvement of people being a specific policy of political parties.

#### PEOPLE

A feature common to all the subjects dealt with is that of change. Throughout the chapters, changed and changing conditions have been described. Primary among new ways of thinking is the appearance of a spirit of self-assertion, along with the subdued spirit of a conquered people. Few other Canadians can share either of these two attitudes.

Conflict over the acceptance of such values as the relative "good" of the urban and rural life, the role of the family, and support of the traditional and new social elites has created a condition described as "social nervousness."<sup>2</sup> It seems that many of the areas of conflict, as well as the uncertainty itself, are shared by a great number of Canadians outside Quebec.

Also shared are ways of life and living conditions. The individual home and lot, use of automobiles, labour-saving household appliances, ways of merchandising, and use of credit, exemplify the

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See p. 95





acceptance of North American standards of participation in the material benefits of a highly industrialized society. Examples could also be drawn from the fields of sport, technology, architecture and the like.

One distinction previously noted is the high level of activity in the field of publishing. Perhaps reflected in this characteristic is another which I observed as have other visitors to Quebec. It was found that university students particularly, but many others also, showed a more ready interest in philosophy, politics, religion, music, drama and the arts in general than in the merits of football teams or recent makes of cars.

#### POLITICS

The need felt to survive as a national group has been a dominant force in Quebec politics since the early experience with democracy<sup>3</sup> after 1791. Although there have always been supporters of the idea that survival could best be obtained through participation in government at the federal level, it seems to be generally accepted that the real government is the one seated at Quebec. Support for this idea has been very evident in recent years, as Quebec governments have sought to maintain or extend provincial autonomy in many fields.

Political parties in Quebec have found it necessary to declare themselves independent of the federal group from whom they originally stemmed, or have been formed independent of any federal affiliation as an expression of Quebec's nationalism. "Quebec First" was the slogan of

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See p. 99, footnote 3



the successful party in the 1966 provincial election. To some extent, however, provincial independence is a characteristic shared with the western provinces, who, for many years, have elected representatives to the federal parliament in opposition to the government parties.

Whether nationalism in the Quebec sense will reach the stage of complete separation is open to conjecture. Laurier Lapierre in an interview with me expressed a firm opinion that the rest of Canada has three or four years in which to do something serious to make the Quebecois feel "at home" outside his province. He feels that if the effort is not<sup>4</sup> made that separatist elements will receive more and more support.

#### CHURCH

Adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, like the use of French, is undoubtedly a characteristic which distinguishes Quebec from other Canadian provinces. That the Church has had, and continues to have a strong influence in all spheres of life is undoubtedly true. Part of this influence is due to the clergy's representative nature. Church<sup>5</sup> problems are family problems. The same closeness of identification is not true of other parts of Canada.

By contrast, a growing number of declared agnostics, and criticism of the Church are conditions shared with churches in other areas. Increased emphasis on the participation of laymen, and a growing

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July, 1966. He referred specifically to providing French-Canadians outside Quebec with the opportunity of education in their own language.

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See p. 140, footnote 31





toleration among laymen and clergy alike, are attitudes shared with other churches. Increasingly, attitudes in Quebec are becoming more like those outside the province where a sharp division has been made between the sacred and the secular.

In politics, trade unions and the cooperative movement, but notably in education, the Church continues to exercise a strong influence. Its power, however, seems to be based less on authority. Instead, the church relies on a spirit of cooperation along with the ability of its leaders to provide solutions to problems and leadership in planning the future.

#### TRADE UNIONS

Previous discussion of unionism made little mention of the national and international unions because the concern of this study is in aspects peculiar to Quebec. It must, therefore, be recognized that membership in the C. L. C. is greater than that of the C. N. T. U. Because of the international activity of large companies there is a need for Quebec workers to participate in North-American organizations.<sup>6</sup> It is recognized that but a minority of workers are unionized.

In spite of the declared non-confessional nature of the C. N. T. U., its constitution still refers to Christian principles. Recent gains in membership notwithstanding, it is still largely confined to Quebec. More than other unions too, its leadership tends to be drawn from the

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See p. 184, footnote 109



intellectual rather than the working class.

## EDUCATION

The many changes which are in progress tend to make Quebec's education system similar in organization and objectives to other systems in North America. The centralization of secondary schools, for example, will make them similar to comprehensive schools in North America and Europe. As yet, however, few exist. When they are completed, they will still have some particular characteristics, as, for example, the proposed inclusion of a chapel and chaplain's quarters. Because they are developing later than in other places, the schools are likely to present an even wider range of activity than those elsewhere.

Changes in elementary school programmes and methodology appear to be aimed at making education at this level more similar to schooling elsewhere in North America. Changes in organization and programme at the university level seem to have a similar objective. The creation of the Institutes gives a particular aspect to education in Quebec which other areas may well follow.

Participation of citizens in planning changes has already been noted. What is perhaps the most striking characteristic arises from the fact of change. For laymen as well as for the teachers, there is an air of excitement and challenge. Some people, in consequence, experience a feeling of intense discomfort. Many others, by contrast, feel an increased interest and satisfaction expressed in the sentiment: During the next ten or fifteen years Quebec is likely to be the most interesting





place in the world in which to be involved in education.

#### CULTURAL AFFAIRS

The most striking feature of this aspect of Quebec life is the intense activity in all fields. There seem to be two periods when noticeable development has occurred. The first period can be marked as the late 1930's and early 1940's. The publication of important novels, the founding of the Montreal theatre group, the establishment of the Provincial Conservatory of Music, and the return from France of Alfred Pellan, an influential painter, all occurred at this time.

The second period is the present decade. Both the quality and quantity of production in all fields has increased noticeably in this period. The economic support of various organizations, and particularly the Ministry of Cultural Affairs has provided a stimulus. It is possible that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs has had a greater influence than any other organization through its commissioning of works, through the employment of writers and artists as civil servants, and through its publicity activities.

Reasons for these apparent bursts of expansion may be sought in the social, economic and cultural development of the province. In the contemporary period, there appears a determination by many Quebecois to

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7

Elizabeth Kilbourn, Great Canadian Paintings. The Canadian Centennial Library, 1966, p. 126.

8

In both periods literature seems to have led the other fields by about five years.



participate as creator or consumer of the artistic production of the province.

Of the great quantity produced the most valuable is that which, although rooted in a North-American and Quebec milieu appeals to universal interests. Of the best work in literature, theatre, painting or music it seems true that "the language is international; only the accent is local."<sup>9</sup>

#### FINAL REMARKS

As I went about the province, meeting and talking with people in various walks of life it seemed, however, that the excitement and interest in education might apply to all phases of life in Quebec. As Harvey asserted, here is a "whole people on the march."<sup>10</sup> Their enthusiasm is contagious, if sometimes exasperating, and one cannot deny that there is a striving, a drive toward a goal to be reached which adds a zest to life often lacking in other societies.

This feeling, along with other evidence presented, leads me to the conclusion that there is in fact a culture peculiar to Quebec, but that there are sufficient shared characteristics that it can also be identified as a North-American culture.

That the material presented is far from exhaustive is self-evident. Rather, the study has been prepared in the hope that others will use it as a point of departure. The field for research is rich, since

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<sup>9</sup> Kilbourn, op. cit., p. 30

<sup>10</sup> See p. 53, footnote 88.





the subject of any one of the chapters presents opportunities for detailed study.

Besides offering a starting point for other research, the material should also serve teachers of French or Social Studies. It may be used on its own to obtain a general view of the province of Quebec. Perhaps more important for teachers will be the possibility of seeking more detailed studies, such as are listed in the footnotes and bibliography, or seeking even more recent works published by the authors named.

French teachers will have a more precise knowledge of the culture of the people of Quebec, one group of native speakers of the language being taught. In more advanced classes some examples of French-Canadian literature may be used as reading material. The bibliography of novels for adolescents given in Wyczynski's, Le Roman Canadien-Français may be particularly useful in this regard.

Social Studies teachers who are concerned with teaching children about Canada will have one source from which they can obtain a recent view of the province of Quebec, or to which they can direct their students. In the consideration of current problems in federal-provincial and inter-provincial relations, this description of Quebec society and culture by one who is neither French-Canadian nor a native of Canada may help to dispel outdated ideas or prejudices which may exist.



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## APPENDIX A.

### Original quotations in French.

The number given corresponds to the appropriate footnote in each chapter.

#### Chapter 2.

8. Les températures moyennes d'hiver, quelle que soit la latitude ou l'altitude, varient entre -10 degrés centigrades et -14 degrés centigrades, avec une tendance pour la région de Montréal à être davantage (Abitibi: -17 degrés). Tout le pays est soumis à des coups de froid beaucoup plus vifs qui, sans discrimination de régions, font descendre le thermomètre jusqu'à -40/-45 degrés centigrades, de Montréal aux régions désolées du Grand Nord.
13. A ces durées d'enneigement correspond, dans le sens contraire, la durée de la saison utile, celle comprise entre les gels du printemps et les premiers gels de l'hiver. Là également, les différences régionales sont considérables. La plaine de Montréal est privilégiée (140 jours sans gel), de même que le reste de la plaine du Saint Laurent (120 -140), les premiers plateaux des Appalaches et des Laurentides, de part et d'autre du Saint Laurent (120 -140) et la plaine du lac Saint-Jean (110-120). Plus au Nord, on tombe rapidement à moins de 80 jours sans gel.

Les précipitations s'étalent dans le temps et dans l'espace. La majorité du Québec habité recueille de 800 à 1,000 millimètres (Paris: 600). Le Nord est moins arrosé: 800 millimètres au plus. Les quelques plateaux surélevés le sont davantage: plus de 1,200 millimètres.

Les précipitations sont très régulières: hiver 23.5 per cent, été 27.5 per cent. L'hiver elles viennent sous forme de neige, dont l'épaisseur varie selon la durée des froids: 2.50 mètres à Montréal, 3 mètres à Québec, 3.50 mètres dans le Sud des Appalaches, plus de 4 mètres sur les sommets des Laurentides et de la Gaspésie.

Cette épaisse couverture protège le sol et les plantes contre les froids excessifs, évite le gel permanent du sol dans la zone habitée, gonfle les cours d'eau à la fonte du printemps, permet une mobilité accrue sur les terrains boisés, mais constitue un obstacle à la circulation routière et ferroviaire qui ralentit la vie économique du pays.





16. La surabondance des eaux douces, qui fait la beauté de ce territoire, en fait aussi la richesse. Notre avenir économique repose là-dessus en grande partie, attendu que la force motrice à bon marché est par son volume immense, de nature à susciter des industries et des villes nouvelles.
17. Les richesses du sous-sol québécois sont à peine entamées. D'après les géologues, ce pays deviendra tôt ou tard l'un des principaux producteurs du monde en métaux et minéraux de toutes sortes.
18. On sait que ce trafic de pelleteries a été aux origines de la colonie et que pour plus de deux siècles il a été le ferment le plus actif de ses fonctions économiques.
19. ...la traite des fourrures ne peut provoquer seule une puissante expansion maritime et commerciale;
20. La fourrure rapporte surtout aux 500 "coureurs de bois" qui, délaissant l'agriculture, vivent en nomades, attirés dans les bois par un besoin d'aventure et de liberté, par les jeunes Indiennes et la fortune.
21. ...à la fonte des glaces une horde de 1200 à 1500 "voyageurs"
22. L'exploitation des animaux à fourrure compte pour si peu qu'elle n'est plus guère qu'un souvenir.
23. ...l'agriculture a été pendant trois siècles l'occupation majeure des Canadiens de souche française ainsi que celle des Britanniques venus s'établir à côté d'eux.
25. Pourtant, une mécanique vigoureuse, l'électrification accélérée des fermes, de meilleures techniques, ont permis de compenser la diminution des effectifs par une amélioration sensible de la productivité. L'agriculture du Québec n'a toutefois pas entièrement changé d'aspect. A quelques régions fort bien mises en valeur s'oppose la majorité de la superficie agricole, aux rendements traditionnellement faibles, et aux activités trop diverses pour être productives.
26. ...c'est l'exploitation du bois à des fins commerciales qui prend la tête et le développement agricole n'en est qu'une assez chétive conséquence.
29. Sans jamais s'interrompre complètement, le travail est passé par plusieurs avatars; après la fourniture de bois d'oeuvre destiné à l'Angleterre, les Chantiers ont fonctionné pour alimenter des scieries, puis ils se sont consacrés à nourrir les fabriques de pâte et de papier.





30. Elle est devenue la première étape d'un programme industriel strict et mécanisé, réservée aux employés permanents et spécialisés de grandes compagnies soucieuses de rendements et de productivité.
31. Autrefois, la coupe se faisait à la hache. Là comme ailleurs, s'est introduite une mécanisation qui accélère et adoucit les tâches. La scie mécanique a remplacé le taillant d'acier et les véhicules moteurs ont supplanté les chevaux. Les puissants bulldozers ont pénétré jusque-là, eux aussi, pour y tracer les chemins nécessaires au transport des troncs dépêchés, facilitant par le fait les communications d'hiver avec le monde habité.
32. La Drave. Le flottage du bois- appelé ici drave du mot anglais 'drive' - est une opération forestière hasardeuse et pittoresque. Presque toute la récolte de l'hiver se transporte vers les fabriques de papier ou de pâte de bois par les cours d'eau qui se précipitent vers le fleuve ou la mer. La crue du printemps aidant, par suite de la fonte des neiges, et grâce à la construction de barrages temporaires dont on ouvre ou ferme les vannes au besoin, les arbres, coupés par tronçons d'environ quatre pieds, sont dirigés par millions jusqu'à destination, et cela, sur des milles et des milles de distance. Les équipes de draveurs les suivent à pied; tout le long du trajet, surveillant, des bords escarpés ou broussailleux des rivières, cette forêt en marche. Rien de plus impressionnant à voir que la descente des troncs dans les rapides, le bruit de l'eau qui se précipite, lourde, glaciale, bruit annonciateur de l'été, les beaux embâcles de rondins dans les cascades ou les fonds à fleur d'écume, le courant refoulé en remous de mousse blanches, les débloquements par explosions à la dynamite, la rupture de barrages, les troncs nus roulant les uns sur les autres, se dressant, verticaux et semblant battre des bras comme des hommes en détresse, retombant enfin et repartant à l'épouvante.
53. ...l'industrie québécoise se partage en quatre groupes:
1. Le groupe des industries vieillissantes, qui connaît de grandes difficultés: industries du bois et du cuir.
  2. Viennent ensuite les industries classiques, depuis longtemps établies: le papier et le tabac, assez prospères, et l'industrie des textiles et de la confection dont les progrès réels ne sont pas très vigoureux.
  3. Un troisième groupe réunit les industries prospères: celle des produits alimentaires, qui a bénéficié de l'augmentation de la population canadienne et de la hausse de son niveau de vie; la transformation des minéraux non métalliques, dont le progrès est le reflet du rapide développement de la construction.





54.

4. Le quatrième groupe transforme rapidement l'aspect général de l'industrie québécoise, et donne une idée de la structure qu'elle aura dans quelques décades: construction électrique, industrie chimique, et, témoin du haut niveau de vie des particuliers comme des sociétés, l'industrie polygraphique.

77. La S.G.F. est une société de crédit et de gestion, entreprise autonome, soumise aux directives de ses actionnaires et aux décisions de son conseil d'administration. C'est le gouvernement de Québec qui lui a donné naissance, mais ce dernier restera toujours actionnaire minoritaire et ne pourra jamais nommer plus d'un quart des administrateurs. La Société Générale de Financement pourrait se définir comme une entreprise privée d'intérêt public, née d'une volonté collective d'expansion économique, mais gérée sans intervention politique.

79. A cette plainte, le directeur général, M. Gérard Filion, répond que la S.G.F. n'est pas une organisation d'assistance sociale destinée à subventionner des industries non-rentables, uniquement dans le but de remédier au chômage qui affecte certaines régions.... Mais, dit-il, il se faut surtout pas en faire une question sentimentale.... La S.G.F. n'a pas à accorder de subventions, même intelligentes. Elle a des actionnaires, de petits actionnaires, qui ne doivent pas perdre leur argent.

82. Tout a commencé à Matagami en 1957 par la découverte de six gisements de cuivre et de zinc que trois sociétés privées ont entrepris d'explorer, puis d'exploiter. A l'heure où commence l'extraction du minerai, on en estime les réserves à environ trente million de tonnes....

Le gouvernement du Québec a voulu faire une ville minière modèle. Il s'est occupé, par l'intermédiaire du ministère des Richesses naturelles, d'en diriger l'aménagement d'après un plan d'urbanisme qui a prévu depuis la disposition des artères jusqu'à celles des maisons d'habitation, des boutiques, des édifices et des parcs publics. Tous les travaux de défrichement, de gravelage, d'électrification, d'égouts et de canalisation d'eau, ainsi que l'organisation des autres services publics, ont été à la charge de l'Etat.

A certains égards, le village de Matagami est déjà pourvu de services, notamment d'une usine de filtration et d'une usine d'épuration des eaux, dont manquent encore beaucoup de villes québécoises. Le gouvernement a pris à son compte d'aménager complètement cette agglomération nouvelle pour une population de 2.300 habitants, afin d'éviter l'emprise économique, sociale et culturelle des sociétés minières anglo-saxonnes sur une collectivité





canadienne-française, comme cela s'était produit dans d'autres villes minières québécoises.

.....

Près d'un millier de Canadiens français, à l'oeuvre au chantier et dans les mines de Matagami, prolongent là la tradition des premiers français.

88. Aucune région nord-américaine n'offre un avenir plus prometteur. Les richesses qui s'y trouvent sont à peine entamées. Tout un peuple au travail est en train de les révéler au monde.

### Chapter 5.

2. Aucune monographie ethnographique, nous l'avons noté, ne dissocie les phénomènes religieux de l'ensemble des coutumes, des traditions ou des pratiques de la civilisation traditionnelle, pour en faire un objet spécifique d'investigation. Une telle attitude était plus que légitime. Elle correspondait fidèlement à la réalité canadienne-française, c'est-à-dire à un milieu humain où ont été inextricablement mêlées, depuis ses débuts, structures politiques et structures ecclésiastiques, idéologies temporelles et idéologies temporelles et idéologies spirituelles, attitudes électorales et attitudes religieuses.
3. Je vois mal une monographie rurale du Québec qui ne traite pas du point de vue religieux. Cependant, dans une société urbaine, on peut multiplier les études sur le travail ou les classes sociales sans jamais aborder l'étude de la dimension spécifiquement religieuse.
12. La seule autorité exclusive de l'Eglise, une autorité qui ne fut jamais disputée par les gouverneurs ou les intendants, fut en matière d'éducation ou dans le développement intellectuel et culturel de la colonie.
14. Son rôle primordial ne sera jamais d'animer l'Etat; mais plutôt d'organiser, de gérer et de manipuler la presque totalité des organismes nécessaires au plein développement de la société. Ceci se fera, non seulement avec l'assentiment de l'Etat, mais, dans plusieurs cas, à sa demande....
17. ...car même les refus des sacraments et les menaces d'excommunication ne purent forcer l'habitant à s'enrôler dans la milice anglaise...





## Chapter 6.

13. "En 1891, le Pope Léon XIII dans sa lettre encyclique Rerum novarum, avait endossé clairement le principe du syndicalisme et fait à tous les chrétiens un devoir de hâter la constitution d'une force ouvrière. A travers la broussaille des intérêts et des préjugés, cette impulsion ne pouvait cheminer qu'avec lenteur.
30. Tout au long des années 1921-42, le support des éléments nationalistes canadiens-français, la sollicitude et le concours même pécuniaire des autorités religieuses continuaient d'être acquis au mouvement syndical catholique et national, de même que l'appui d'un certain nombre d'employeurs de diverses nationalités qui préféraient aux unions neutres, nationales ou internationales, une C.T.C.C. prudente et modérée dans ses revendications, une C.T.C.C. pour qui la grève était l'ultime recours en cas de conflits, et qui se faisait comme un devoir de dépenser autant de ses énergies à mener la lutte confessionnelle contre les unions neutres qu'à assurer le mieux-être des salariés.
31. Il reste pourtant que beaucoup de prêtres mêlés au mouvement avaient tendance à en faire d'inoffensifs cercles d'études et que les aumôniers y exercent à l'origine une autorité gauche et abusive. Un seul exemple: l'unanimité des clercs à empêcher la constitution d'un fonds de grève lors de la fondation de la C.T.C.C., sous prétexte qu'un tel fonds inciterait au désordre social.
85. ...le syndicalisme doit être l'instrument par lequel les travailleurs vont définir la démocratie de demain et contribuer à bâtir la société de demain.





## APPENDIX B

### THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS OF QUEBEC

#### Main Phases of the Project

At the request of the Cabinet, the Bureau of Economic Research of the Department of Industry and Commerce, in co-operation with the various services of the Economic Advisory Council, has defined a system of administrative regions within the framework of a plan for regional development.

The drafting of this system was not a simple matter. Instead of basing this project solely on theoretical considerations, it was decided to consult the different strata of the Quebec community: the population, intermediate groups, private enterprise and government bodies. This method, although more lengthy, permitted achieving results more in line with the social and economic realities of a modern Quebec.

With the population, consultation took the form of a survey conducted in some 1,500 municipalities.(1) Thus was determined where the population purchases consumer goods and services in current use. Public co-operation in this survey was remarkable. Ninety-three per

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(1) The survey, in the Bas St-Laurent, Gaspé pilot region, was conducted by the Eastern Quebec Development Bureau Inc. (B.A.E.O.)



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cent (93%) of the 4,000 questionnaires sent were duly filled out and returned. It was thus possible to demarcate the zone of influence of growth centers in the Province of Quebec.

An important factor in demarcating the regions was a study of the sales territories of private enterprises. For this purpose, fourteen companies of a representative nature were consulted. These companies, selling consumer goods of all types and having province-wide coverage must meet profit-earning standards which take into account population distribution and density, transportation facilities as well as the income and tastes of the people.

Ten intermediate groups were chosen for sampling purposes. These represented very different needs and interest in matters affected by regionalization.

The departments and other agencies of the Quebec government were also the subject of scrupulously detailed consultations. At the same time, a survey was made of the system of administrative regions in current use and the criteria on which it was based. Another survey, conducted with the assistance of the technical services of the Economic Advisory Council, dealt with Government buildings and employees in the different regions of the Province.

Comments expressed concerning regionalization, following speeches on the subject made by the Prime Minister, the Honourable





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Jean Lesage, and the Minister of Industry and Commerce, the Honourable Gérard D. Levesque, also furnished useful indications for the research work in progress.

These consultations, the steps taken and the studies made gave rise to proposals which were submitted, in turn, to the appointed representatives of the different Departments, to the Economic Advisory Council as well as to its committee on regional development policy and to the Ministers' Planning Committee, prior to finally being brought to the attention of the Provincial Cabinet.







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